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***Ubwinga*, a subset of Bemba Indigenous Knowledge Systems: a
comparative study of pre-colonial and post-independence wedding
ceremonies in Lusaka and Kitwe, Zambia**

by

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Associate Professor Anri Herbst

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Declaration

I declare that this work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

The Bemba of Zambia view *ubwinda*, a sub-set of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS), as a process through which indigenous knowledge is acquired in the life cycle of a person. Musical arts (music, dance and dramatisation) embedded in *ubwinda* ceremonies and other stages of the Bemba life cycle play an integral role as a conduit through which knowledge in the form of cultural values, customs and traditions is transmitted. Interaction with other cultures from within Zambia as well as from Africa and rest of the world has lead to change in the structure of *ubwinda* ceremonies, thereby influencing the musical arts embedded in them. This study has, by way of ethnographic investigation, compared the Bemba *ubwinda* ceremonies performed in Lusaka and the Copperbelt during the pre-colonial era and the white wedding ceremonies performed during the post-independence era. It has further investigated the nature and existence of Bemba IKS.

This study employed qualitative research methods involving extensive fieldwork in Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Apart from audio-visual recordings and analysing 25 marriage ceremonies, individual and focus group interviews were conducted with participants of wedding ceremonies and a sample of research participants from various age groups. Participant observation was used to collect data, while the interviews served as a means to clarify information about *ubwinda* ceremonies. Secondary sources in the form of literature on Bemba musical arts, culture, traditions and customs, and the history of Zambia and related topics were consulted from a variety of archived sources. Musical arts and the ceremonies in which they are utilised were captured by means of audio and video recordings, which were stored on CD and DVD. The data analysis process involved transcription and translation of recorded materials, both in terms of music and interviews. To aid in the analysis process software such as NVIVO (qualitative data analysis) and Sibelius (music notation) were used.

The findings reveal that despite political, socio-economical and socio-cultural changes in the Zambian society, Bemba IKS still exist, although not in their original state. Continuity and change are evident in the current *ubwinda* ceremonies, which are an amalgamation of some of the elements from the pre-colonial *ubwinda* ceremonies and those of the white wedding ceremonies of the post-independence era. Regarding the musical arts, it has been revealed that marriage *mfunkutu* have not undergone changes, despite internal and external socio-cultural, socio-economic and political influences. But the repertoire has been abridged.

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The little stream in the valley means more to me than the ocean¹

¹ Adaptation of the lyrics by José Fernández of the song *Guantanamera*

Dedication

Uwakwensha ubushiku bamutasha nga bwacha

To the late Abram Mwansa Patrick Lumbwe, Mrs G. K. P. Lumbwe and her grandchildren: Patricia Chishimba Kachasa, Zenzele Mwansa Pahla, Chomba Thompson Kachasa, Abram Mwansa Patrick Lumbwe Bwalya, Mutale Kasanda Bwalya, Mwenya Lumbwe, Patricia Mwansa Mwitwa, and Eddie and Mulenga Mwitwa. To all of you my children I dedicate the following song '*Africa mayo Africa*' (Africa my Africa) by Mpundu Pode Mutale from which you should draw inspiration to work hard in order to meet success in life.

*Africa mayo Africa
Ba mama baleimba
Mululamba lwachimana
Nsha atala nkumona
Namona umulopa obe
Uwaitike pamushili obe
Umulopa walibe lyobe
Ilibe lyakuchula kobe
Africa mayo Africa*

Africa my Africa
My grandmother sings on
Besides a distant river
I have never seen you
I have seen your blood
The blood you spilt on your soil
The blood you toiled for
The toil of your sufferings
Africa my Africa

*Africa njeba Africa
Ukuchula kwabusha bobe
Ubusha bwabana bobe
Bushe uleya kunuma?
Naumfwe shiwi aliti
Wachulile mukulwisha kobe
Umulopa walibe lyobe
Ilibe lyakuchula kobe
Africa mayo Africa*

Africa tell me Africa
The toil of your slavery
The slavery of your children
Are you moving backwards?
I hear a voice saying
You suffered during your liberation struggle
The blood you toiled for
The toil of your sufferings
Africa my Africa

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BSA Co	British South Africa Company
CBD	Central Business District
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CMML	Christian Missions in Many Lands
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DEO	District Education Officer
DNI	Digital Networks International
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development: World Bank
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
MC	Master of Ceremonies
MHE	Ministry of Higher Education in Zambia
MLNR	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MMUF	Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship
MOE	Ministry of Education in Zambia
NATAAZ	National Theatre Arts Association of Zambia
NRDC	Natural Resources Development College
RCZ	Reformed Church of Zambia
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SKS	School Knowledge Systems
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
UCT	University of Cape Town
UCZ	United Church of Zambia
UK	United Kingdom
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
USA	United States of America
ZA	Zambia Army
ZAF	Zambia Air Force
ZAMCOPS	Zambia Copyright Society
ZANASE	Zambia National Service
ZANC	Zambia African National Congress
ZANTAA	Zambia National Theatre Arts Association
ZBS	Zambia Broadcasting Services
ZNAC	Zambia National Arts Council
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZNDT	Zambia National Dance Troupe
ZNS	Zambia National Service
ZP	Zambia Police
ZUM	Zambia Union of Musicians

Glossary of terms and expressions

<i>Abasambilila</i>	A Bemba word implying people who are highly educated (are literate and speak very good English)
<i>Akabwambe</i>	Children's touch/tag game
<i>Akalambe</i>	Children's touch/tag game
<i>Akalongo kapalwino</i>	A little clay pot used for performing purification ablutions after sexual intercourse by a married couple
<i>Akalunguti</i>	Kind of a seed obtained from <i>umulunguti</i> tree (the researcher could not ascertain the botanical terms for the seed and tree)
<i>Akanweno</i>	Little clay bowl
<i>Akanweno kapalwino</i>	Little clay bowl used for performing purification ablutions after sexual intercourse by a married couple
<i>Akapopo</i>	Still born
<i>Akasupa</i>	Small calabash
<i>Akatili</i>	Duiker
<i>Ali ne mfwa</i>	Being in close contact with death
<i>Amaato</i>	Canoes/boats
<i>Amachona</i>	People who left the rural areas and settled permanently in the towns and cities
<i>Amafunde</i>	Ceremonies at which marriage instructions are given to the <i>nabwinga</i> and the <i>shibwinga</i>
<i>Amalango/imishikakulo</i>	Poems
<i>Amalumbo</i>	Praise poetry
<i>Amapinda</i>	Proverbs
<i>Amasembe (Sin. Isembe)</i>	Axes
<i>Babenye</i>	Relics of great chiefs honoured in the residence of princess of royal blood
<i>Banakulu</i>	Grandmother of so and so

<i>Braii (Braai)</i>	Afrikaans word for barbeque
<i>Buomba</i>	Derived from the word <i>ingomba</i> and denotes a Bemba style of singing adopted by the Catholic church in Zambia
<i>Chibale</i>	Big plate (name of a person and also name of a children's game)
<i>Chilufya Mulenga</i>	Name of the daughter of Mukulumpe, the Luba king from the Luba-Lunda Empire
<i>Chipumu</i>	Traditional beer made from millet
<i>Chisungu</i>	Girls' initiation ceremony for the Bemba-speaking people of Northern Zambia, which involves puberty and nubility rites
<i>Chitenge</i>	Zambian fabric used as national dress
<i>Chiti</i>	Lit. big tree; in this case it refers to the youngest son of Mukulumpe, the Luba king from the Luba-Lunda Empire
<i>Chityatya</i>	Children's game played with a disc and wheel
<i>Diketo</i>	Sotho of South Africa and Lesotho children's game (the same as <i>ichiyenga</i> of the Bemba)
<i>Domba</i>	Girls' initiation school for the Venda of South Africa
<i>Gule wamkulu</i>	Boys' initiation school for the Chewa people of eastern Zambia
<i>Ibakuli (Pl. Amabakuli)²</i>	Traditional enamel plate, which is hollow like a bowl
<i>Ibende</i>	Mortar
<i>Ichampu</i>	Disease where one suffers from continuous sneezing
<i>Ichapu</i>	A disease – continuous sneezing
<i>Icheswa</i>	Broom
<i>Ichibitiko</i>	Medium size <i>mfunkutu</i> drum

² Words provided in this glossary of terms and expressions have been written as they have been used in the main body of the document. However, for some both singular and plural forms have been supplied, because both appear in the document.

<i>Ichibwanse</i> (Pl. <i>ifibwanse</i>)	Special gathering for Bemba women where they carried out their daily chores (children were also present as they would be in the care of their mothers).
<i>Ichifinga cha nkuni</i>	A bundle of firewood
<i>Ichikopabeluti</i>	The language of the Copperbelt (a variety of Bemba mixed with adopted words and phrases from other languages such as English, Zulu, Swahili, Portuguese, Fanagalo, French, Shona, Afrikaans, among others)
<i>Ichikopabeluti</i>	Bemba variant spoken on the Copperbelt of Zambia
<i>Ichila</i>	Bemba term for dance; the Lala, a Bemba-speaking group, have a special dance known as <i>Ichila</i>
<i>Ichilangamulilo</i>	Lit. that which shows fire, but in this case it refers to the food-offering ceremony that is performed for the <i>shibwinga</i>
<i>Ichilangamulilo</i>	Food-offering ceremony for the groom
<i>Ichilindi</i>	Hole; the term is also used to refer to a grave
<i>Ichilundu</i> (Pl. <i>Ifilundu</i>)	Bark cloth
<i>Ichinkula</i>	A child whose first teeth start from the lower jaw. Such a child was considered abnormal in Bemba society in pre-colonial times
<i>Ichipula</i>	Marriage payments
<i>Ichipuna</i> (Pl. <i>ifipuna</i>)	Stool
<i>Ichisungwa</i>	Tree whose trunk is used for making resonating chambers for drums
<i>Ichitumbi</i>	Corpse
<i>Ichiwa</i> (Pl. <i>Ifiwa</i>)	Ghost, evil soul or spirit
<i>Ichiyenga</i>	Children's game (played by throwing a stone and picking smaller stones)
<i>Ichombela nganda</i>	Abbreviated wedding ceremonies involving a small gathering of supporters
<i>Ificholeko</i>	Riddles

<i>Ifilundu</i>	Bark-cloth
<i>Ifintamba</i>	Storing racks
<i>Ifisela or ifyangalo</i>	Games
<i>Ifisoko</i>	Medicines and charms used by <i>inganga</i>
<i>Ifwesa</i> (Pl. <i>amafwesa</i>)	Small ant mound
<i>Imangu/Kamangu</i>	Drum used for sending messages
<i>Imbabula</i>	Brazier
<i>Imbeka</i>	Beautiful woman
<i>Imboko</i>	Children's game (Hopscotch)
<i>Imbusa</i>	Sacred emblems
<i>Imfumu</i>	Chief
<i>Imfwa</i>	Death
<i>Imikalile</i>	Daily livelihood
<i>Imilumbe</i>	Stories without songs
<i>Imipashi iyibi</i>	Evil spirits
<i>Imishikakulo</i>	Poems
<i>Impande</i>	Polished shells
<i>Impango</i>	Marriage payments
<i>Impimpi</i>	Two small sticks about one and a half centimetres long and half a centimetre in diameter
<i>Impomba</i>	Impala
<i>Impyani</i>	Successor
<i>Inchentu</i>	The woman dies of a haemorrhage or any other cause during pregnancy
<i>Inchila</i>	The woman dies in labour before the birth of the child

<i>Indoshi</i>	Sorcerer
<i>Inganga</i>	Diviner or traditional healer
<i>Ingoma</i>	Drum, but the term is also used to refer to a song
<i>Ingomba</i>	Royal musician
<i>Inkampa</i>	Children's skipping game. The name was derived from the action of swinging the rope round and round.
<i>Inkoko</i>	Chicken
<i>Inongo</i>	Clay pot
<i>Inqatu</i>	Zulu children's skipping game (the same as <i>inkampa</i> of the Bemba)
<i>Insaka</i>	Special gatherings for men where they carried out their daily chores and also took their meals, (youths also took part as assistants to the adults)
<i>Insalamo</i>	Marriage payments
<i>Insamba</i>	Iguana
<i>Inshimi</i>	Stories with songs
<i>Inshindishi</i>	Bride's maids
<i>Inshingili</i>	Hour-glass shaped drum
<i>Insoselo</i>	Sayings and idiomatic expressions
<i>Isambo/isambwe lya mfwa</i>	Family gathering after burial of the deceased relative
<i>Isase</i>	Tree whose trunk is used for making resonating chambers for drums
<i>Ishamo</i>	Bad luck
<i>Ishiko</i>	Fire hearth
<i>Ishina lya mutoto</i>	The name of the navel
<i>Isolo</i>	Bemba game for adults played with seeds on a wooden board with holes or in holes dug in the ground.
<i>Itumba</i>	Large <i>mfunkutu</i> drum

<i>Izingendo</i>	Zulu children's game (the same as <i>ichiyenga</i> of the Bemba)
<i>Kabilo</i> (Pl. <i>bakabilo</i>)	Hereditary counsellor
<i>Kabosha</i>	A remedy that is decaying
<i>Kalela</i>	Bemba indigenous dance
<i>Kalindula</i>	Contemporary musical style of the Bemba of Luapula Province; it is characterised by a strong <i>rhumba</i> bass line and traditional drum rhythms
<i>Kalisha wangoma</i>	Drummer
<i>Kapundu</i>	Ululating sound
<i>Katata</i>	Traditional beer made from millet
<i>Katubi</i>	Traditional beer made from millet
<i>Kumasamba</i>	Western direction
<i>Kumitwe</i>	On the side where the head rests
<i>Lesa</i>	God
<i>Lukombo</i>	Cup made from a gourd
<i>M'ganda/Malipenga</i>	Dance of the Tumbuka people of Northern and Eastern Provinces developed soon after the Second World War
<i>Mahumbwe</i>	Shona children's make-believe plays
<i>Mboswa</i>	Lit. special guardian
<i>Mfunkutu</i>	Name of a specific dance and also a generic name for a genre of music. As a dance, it describes the movements, the shuffling of feet, twisting of the waist and the up and down movements of the arms of the dancer. This is called <i>ukuifukutawila</i> . It is performed by older Bemba in Luapula, Northern and Central Provinces at social functions such as beer parties, weddings, or at a presentation ceremony.
<i>Milaka</i>	Boys' initiation school for the Lozi people of Western Zambia
<i>Montlwane</i>	Sotho children's make-believe plays
<i>Mukamfwilwa</i>	Widow

<i>Mukanda</i>	Boys' initiation school for the Luvale people of North-western Zambia
<i>Mukulumpe</i>	The king of the Luba from the Luba-Lunda empire
<i>Mulambilwa</i>	Children's game played with conical berries and a kind of tiny ninepins
<i>Mundu</i>	Name given to the lion with reference to its strength, but it is also used to denote one of the <i>imbusa</i> emblems
<i>Munkoyo</i>	Traditional non-alcoholic drink made from a wild root
<i>Muzungu</i>	<i>Muzungu</i> is a Nyanja word meaning 'white person' (<i>Muzungu</i> singular and <i>bazungu</i> plural). In Bemba the word meaning 'white person' is <i>Musungu</i> (<i>Musungu</i> singular and <i>basungu</i> plural). The word is commonly used in conversation and is not derogatory
<i>Mwase</i>	King of the Nsenga people
<i>Mwifungu</i>	Underneath the bed
<i>Nabwinga</i>	Bride
<i>Nachimbusa</i> (Pl. <i>bana chimbusa</i>)	Lit. mother of sacred emblems, but the term refers to the midwife who takes care and instruct the initiate
<i>Nachisungu</i>	Lit. mother of <i>chisungu</i> , but the term refers to the <i>chisungu</i> initiate
<i>Nakalamba</i>	(Lit. great mother) The first elderly woman to know of a girl's first menses and assumes the role of instructor on matters concerning hygiene
<i>Nakulu</i>	Grandmother
<i>Nalume</i>	Maternal uncle
<i>Nasenge</i>	Paternal aunt
<i>Nhodo</i>	Shona children's game (the same as <i>ichiyenga</i> of the Bemba)
<i>Nkungulume</i>	Bachelor
<i>Nsengwansengwa</i>	Diabolo children's game

<i>Nsonge</i>	A prayer
<i>Pada</i>	Shona children's game (hopscotch)
<i>Rayuela</i>	Children's game among the Spanish and Indonesians (hopscotch)
<i>Sensele</i>	Small <i>mfunkutu</i> drum
<i>Shebeen</i>	An unlicensed house selling alcoholic liquor. <i>Shebeen</i> owners use their backyard gardens to serve their customers drinks. Recorded music is usually played here as well
<i>Shibukombe</i>	Go-between or spokesman – one who represents the groom in marriage negotiations
<i>Shibwinga</i>	Groom
<i>Shimfwilwa</i>	Widower
<i>Shinganga</i>	Lit. Father of diviner, but the term is also used to refer to a diviner
<i>Sinjonjo</i>	Musical style derived from a hybrid of <i>Simanjemanje</i> , <i>Tsaba tsaba</i> and <i>Kwela</i> music
<i>Ububishi</i>	Freshness
<i>Ubulungu ubwabuuta</i>	White beads
<i>Ubulwele</i>	Disease
<i>Ubutanda</i> (Pl. <i>amatanda</i>)	Reed mat
<i>Ubwali</i>	Mash made from maize meal
<i>Ubwalwa</i>	Beer
<i>Ubwimashi</i>	Marriage payments
<i>Ubwinga</i>	Bemba indigenous wedding ceremonies
<i>Ubwinga bwa kapundu</i>	Full wedding ceremonies involving a large gathering with beer, singing and dancing, forming the main part of the festivities and celebrations
<i>Ukongga</i>	Preparation of a corpse for burial
<i>Ukubangula umweshi</i>	The feast of the new moon

<i>Ukubika iloba muchilindi</i>	Filling the grave with soil/earth
<i>Ukubika iluba muchilindi</i>	Filling the grave with soil/earth
<i>Ukubuka</i>	Incantations
<i>Ukubuta</i>	Make-believe plays performed by children
<i>Ukuchinda</i>	To dance
<i>Ukuchindila ichisungu</i>	Lit. to dance <i>chisungu</i> for someone, but the expression is used to demonstrate the honour accorded to <i>nachisungu</i> by someone instructing her
<i>Ukufuka umubili</i>	Folding up of the body – a posture similar to that of a foetus in the womb
<i>Ukufunda</i>	To teach
<i>Ukufwika umwana</i>	Lit. the act of dressing up of the child, but this expression also denotes the ceremony at which a new-born baby is dressed up for the first time
<i>Ukufyala</i>	Give birth to a child
<i>Ukufyala umucha</i>	Giving birth to a premature baby
<i>Ukukaba</i>	To be hot
<i>Ukukobekela</i>	To engage a young woman – this involves presentation of a marriage gift in the form of money. It should be noted that in the early days it involved the presentation of an object such as a hoe, axe, bracelet, etc.
<i>Ukukusha umwana</i>	Raising or nurturing a child
<i>Ukulamba</i>	Lit. to become dirty; in this case it is used to show the Bemba act of lying down on the ground on one's side and clap hands, and then roll to the other side and clap hands again – as a gesture of showing respect to someone
<i>Ukulasa imbusa</i>	Shooting at the sacred emblem(s)
<i>Ukulisha</i>	To play a musical instrument – lit. to make soothing or someone cry
<i>Ukuloba isabi</i>	To catch fish/fishing
<i>Ukulunga</i>	To hunt/hunting

<i>Ukuluula</i>	Ceremony conducted after the wedding in order to undo the taboos that existed before. The process of undoing of the taboos involves the act of <i>ukushikula</i>
<i>Ukupaapa umwana</i>	Lit. to carry a child on one's back, but the expression is also used to indicate the act of giving birth to a child. It should be noted that this expression is preferred to be used as a sign of respect for the mothers who go through labour pains during delivery of the child. The literal term for giving birth is <i>ukufyala</i> .
<i>Ukupanga ichuupo</i>	Lit. to make marriage, but it refers to consummation of marriage
<i>Ukupanga ingoma</i>	To make a drum
<i>Ukupeela amino</i>	To impart knowledge
<i>Ukupyana</i>	To succeed somebody
<i>Ukupyanyika</i>	Succession/inheritance
<i>Ukupyanyika namayo uwaupwa</i>	Succession by a married woman
<i>Ukupyanyika nkungulume</i>	Succession by a bachelor
<i>Ukupyanyika umushimbe</i>	Succession by a maiden
<i>Ukupyanyika uwaume uwaupa</i>	Succession by a married man
<i>Ukusebelela/ukusoweleva</i>	An act of moving in and out of the performance space by some members of the audience, while dancing and ululating, to encourage the main performers
<i>Ukusefya pa ng'wena</i>	Annual traditional ceremony for the Bemba where they celebrate their first fruit, conquest of other ethnic groups and the time they first settled at their present capital in Kasama
<i>Ukusenda akanyelele</i>	To carry in the fashion of the ants
<i>Ukushiika</i>	Burial rites
<i>Ukushika umulilo</i>	To rub two sticks together until the friction produces a fire

<i>Ukushikula</i>	To offer a gift of money as a sign of respect to in-laws
<i>Ukusonga</i>	Marriage proposal
<i>Ukusonga</i>	Proposal – the first step in marriage negotiations where a betrothal gift is presented to the parents of a young woman
<i>Ukusonta ifumo</i>	Lit. Pointing at a pregnancy, implying the announcement of someone's first pregnancy.
<i>Ukusowa ifibanda fya chisubo</i>	The hunt of the anointing – an act of wading away evil spirits.
<i>Ukutebeta</i>	The act of presenting specially prepared food for the son-in-law by his in-law(s)
<i>Ukutolanafye</i>	Lit. to pick up each other – it refers to the union of a man and woman, who have been married before, without the consent of their other family members
<i>Ukwabikila</i>	To soak something for some time
<i>Ukwamfula</i>	To crawl or crawling
<i>Ukwimita</i>	To conceive or to fall pregnant
<i>Ukwingisha</i>	Lit. to take something inside – from out of doors, or to put an object into a container
<i>Ukwinika umwana ishina</i>	Lit. to give a name to a child, but this expression also refers to the ceremony at which a new born baby is given a name (naming ceremony)
<i>Ulukasu (Pl. Inkasu)</i>	Hoe
<i>Ulupe</i>	Winnowing basket
<i>Ulupwa</i>	Family/relatives
<i>Ulusasa</i>	Shed (usually made out of elephant grass)
<i>Ulushishi (Pl. inshishi)</i>	Strip of bark of a tree
<i>Ulwimbo (Pl. inyimbo)</i>	Song
<i>Ulwimbo lwateka</i>	Lit. The song has settled, but indicating that the song has reached its climax.
<i>Umono (Pl. Imyono)</i>	Fishing basket

<i>Umqombothi</i>	Traditional Zulu and Xhosa beer made from fermented maize meal porridge
<i>Umuchinshi</i>	Respect
<i>Umufwi</i> (Pl. <i>Imifwi</i>)	Spear
<i>Umukashi</i>	Wife
<i>Umulilo wamwana</i>	Lit. the child's fire, but this expression refers to the special fire that is lit for preparing the child's food
<i>Umulume</i>	Husband
<i>Umupashi</i> (Pl. <i>imipashi</i>)	Ancestral spirit
<i>Umuseke</i>	Winnowing basket
<i>Umuseke</i> (Pl. <i>Imiseke</i>)	Basket
<i>Umushi wabunda</i>	The village is flooded
<i>Umushimbe</i>	Spinster (maiden)
<i>Umushingo</i>	Piece of cloth or ornament inherited from a deceased relative
<i>Umuti</i>	Herbal medicines
<i>Umwana umubishi</i>	Lit. A fresh child, but refers to a newborn child
<i>Umwinsi</i>	This word may refer the entrance of a building or premises, but in this case it is referring to a pestle
<i>Utushimi</i>	Diminutive for <i>inshimi</i> – stories with songs
<i>Waidaa</i>	Children's rubber-band rope game is known as <i>Waidaa</i> in the Zambian language Ichikopabeluti and <i>Chen qiu rong</i> in China
<i>Zunguluka</i>	Turn around

Chapter One

Statement of the problem, purpose and methodology

1. Introduction

Indigenous¹ knowledge systems (IKS) refer to ways in which local and ethnically oriented knowledge has been transmitted over decades and centuries. According to Odora-Hoppers and Makhali-Mahlangu (1998:3):

Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) refer to the combination of knowledge systems encompassing technology, social, economic and philosophical learning, or educational, legal and governance systems.

It is clear from the above definition that IKS differs from global institutionalised ‘book’ learning and in many African communities IKS were entrenched in locally developed technologies which could be expressed through kinship systems, lineages, religion, taboos, customs, traditional leadership structures and all other activities that are of a social nature (Ndhlovu 2004). Ndhlovu further states that IKS served the purpose of transmission and preservation of knowledge, which took place through oral² means. Musical arts (which refer to music, dance and drama), as a subset and ‘catalysing’³ component of IKS, have played an integral role in the transmission of knowledge and the education of the young generation through developing a sense of moral righteousness and rendering them beneficial to their communities (Aning 1972).

Scholars such as Nketia (1974), Stone (2000), Agawu (2003) and Nzewi (2003) state that, apart from fulfilling a secondary function of providing entertainment, the musical arts primarily play a vital role in community celebrations of such events as birth, induction into social adulthood, marriage, parenthood, religious and domestic rituals. Datta (1984) and Vanqa (1996) summarised the principal aims of education provided by these ‘institutions’ as

¹ The word ‘indigenous’ is an adjective derived from the Latin word *indigena* meaning ‘native, belonging to’, and has several applications. ‘Indigenous peoples are those peoples and nations that have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories and consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories’ <Law dictionary>.

² The word ‘oral’ refers to African oral literature which puts emphasis on the fact that knowledge comes from the past and is handed down from one generation to the next, and comprises riddles, tongue-twisters, proverbs, recitations, chants, songs, and stories – represents on the verbal aspects of folklore (Okpewho 1992:4).

³ Although a term used in Chemistry, referring to increasing ‘the rate of (a reaction process) by catalytic action’ <OED>, this term can also be used in reference to the central role that music plays in the transmission of knowledge. Catalysing in this instance refers to the central role of the musical arts in transmitting and ‘transacting’ knowledge (Nzewi 2003).

(a) preserving the cultural heritage of the extended family, clan and ethnic group; (b) assisting members of the new generation to adapt to their physical environment and teaching them how to control and use it; and (c) explaining to members that their own future, as well as that of their community, depends on understanding the institution, laws, language and values inherited from the past.

The term ‘institution’ here refers to ‘established practice or custom’ (Thompson 1995:705). Nzewi (1999) observed that systematic life-music education is institutionalised through birth rites, initiation etc. Adams *et al.* (1974:141) define an ‘institution’ as:

A relatively prevalent way of thought or action that centres around such basic social functions as marriage, government, or education. Thus institutions provide the forms for the activities of human beings [...]. Culture may be viewed as a synthesis of institutions, each functioning to establish social norms and give direction to human behaviour.

Indigenous knowledge was created and re-created by ‘customary education’ (Monyatsi & Nleya 2004:114–125), which began from a child’s earliest years, when its first experience of music would have been in the care of the mother who went about her daily chores and also participated in social and musical events. Nzewi (1999) argues that though this form of education is viewed (in the Western sense) as informal, it is actually formal as it contains philosophic systematic procedures in the transmission of knowledge of a musical culture. As noted by Kapwepwe (2002), changing trends of cultural and traditional practices can be depicted through musical arts.

History has shown that African peoples have been acculturated because of external forces such as colonisation, religion (Christianity and Islam), trade, migration and slavery. Through these forces Western (and also Eastern – through Islam) cultural, political and religious practices were imposed on African peoples. As a consequence, African peoples were expected to discard their indigenous cultural practices in favour of those brought in by their colonisers (Nketia 1974; Mazrui 1986; Mugo 1998; Stone 2000; Majeke 2002; Fatnowna & Pickett 2002; Ntuli 2002; Hountondji 2002). To accompany the prevailing social life in Africa, contemporary musical art forms emerged from the interaction between indigenous and ‘other outsider musical cultures’ (Barz 2004:100).

Contemporary musical arts that have been incorporated together with their accompanying ‘ceremonies’ include original and adapted versions of, for example, *kalindula*, *sinjonjo*,

rhumba, zouk, kizomba, kwaito, samba, gospel, pop, reggae, rock, hip-hop, raga and rap. These musics have been discussed by scholars such as Bergman (1985), Collins (1992), Shuker (1994), Hamm (1995), Stewart (2000), Barrow and Dalton (2001), Bennett (2001), Lundberg, Malm and Ronström (2003), Barz (2004), Alleyene (2005), Nzewi (2005), Watkins (2005), Graham, Tunkanya and Gondwe (2006), among others. From these scholarly works it is evident that music on the continent of Africa has continued to evolve as a result of the impact of various factors. Included in these factors, which Bender (2004:87–105) explains in terms of the division of Africa into countries (after the Berlin conference in 1884–1885), were also Catholic Church music in the form of brass bands, introduced into African schools, phonograph technology within the commercial sector, the creation of inter-African and intra-continental bands, and the introduction of Western instruments. Comments such as Bender's demonstrate how and why music has continued to draw elements from musical forms from other countries in the world, especially the USA and the UK. In recent times the electronic media have been shaping and changing people's world views and cultural practices because of their accessibility throughout the world (Wahlstrom 1992; Baran 1999; Herbst & Tracey, 2003:279–292; Gunster 2004:3–22).

1.1 Statement of the problem

Lusaka is the capital city of Zambia, which comprises a diversity of people from different ethnic groups, social status, nationalities and races, and represents a multicultural society (Kaplan 1979). Barz (2004) claims that the heterogeneity of Lusaka resulted from internal and external factors of colonial rule and related mining activities. These activities led to the creation of urban centres that attracted migrant labourers (mostly males) from the rural areas of the country. Furthermore, through cross-cultural marriages these migrant labourers had children, who grew up in the cities around the copper mines. They lived amidst a minority European population, whose presence contributed to the creation of a contemporary life style, which was adopted in varying degrees by the indigenous people (Chanda 1987).

Factors such as colonisation, migration and cross-cultural marriages resulted in a cultural mix in African peoples, which Mamdani (1998:6) describes as a group of African people 'with one foot in colonial culture and another in that of their ancestors', and which he calls the black intelligentsia (in Zambian terms this group of people is referred to as *abasambilila*).⁴

⁴ *Abasambilila* is a Bemba word implying people who are highly educated (are literate and speak very good English). Although there are 72 languages in Zambia (Kashoki 1990), the Bemba term is used in the majority of these languages to refer to highly educated people.

Adoption of a contemporary lifestyle meant that Eurocentric systems⁵ were adopted as well – some fully and others partly. However, Hountondji (2002:23–38) points out that IKS have neither been forgotten nor disappeared, but what is witnessed is a situation where they are less prominent than in pre-colonial times.

Musical arts are unique in indigenous ways of transmitting knowledge (Fatnowna & Pickett, 2002:67–95) as they communicate verbal and non-verbal messages. Bearing in mind these qualities, Mapoma (2005) points out that the musical arts have played an important role in Zambian indigenous ways of life and have been utilised in activities such as marriage, initiation, customary education, divination, worship and storytelling, to mention a few. However, Kambole (2003) notes that globalisation through the media has influenced Zambian culture in such a way that the musical arts embedded in cultural practices such as wedding ceremonies have been Westernised in terms of performance and presentation. ‘White wedding’ rituals are prominent, while the indigenous wedding ceremonies are seemingly treated as peripheral activities.

From the introduction it is clear that several scholars have spoken favourably about the values of IKS. In *Mbusa: sacred emblems of the Bemba*, Corbeil summarised the impact of globalisation on Zambian IKS as follows:

The winds of change are now blowing at gale force in Zambia. As the benefits of the 20th century civilisation become available to more and more people, there is a great danger that the traditional way of life with all the riches it contains will be abandoned in favour of a pseudo-European way of life. This would be tragic. If the collection of music, dances, folklore and customs that make up the culture of a nation are sacrificed in the pursuit of so-called ‘civilisation’ then that nation has paid a price which is far too high. (Corbeil 1982:5)

It is clear that Corbeil urges scholars to question the ‘pseudo-European’ way of life. His sentiments were echoed by scholars such as Majeke, Mugo, Nketia, Ntuli and Stone, as seen above. It is conspicuous that very few sources specific to the Zambian context ‘address’ or ‘investigate’ the value of IKS in twenty-first century living (see Section 1.3.5). This lacunae leaves the impression that IKS could be (a) a romantic idea of ‘the good old days’, or (b) still present but in a transmuted form that is not easily recognisable. It is a life-long task to investigate these issues in all their different permutations in all the musical arts of all 72 ethnic groups in Zambia. The focus of this thesis is on changes that have taken place with regards to the musical arts embedded in Bemba wedding ceremonies. Bemba wedding

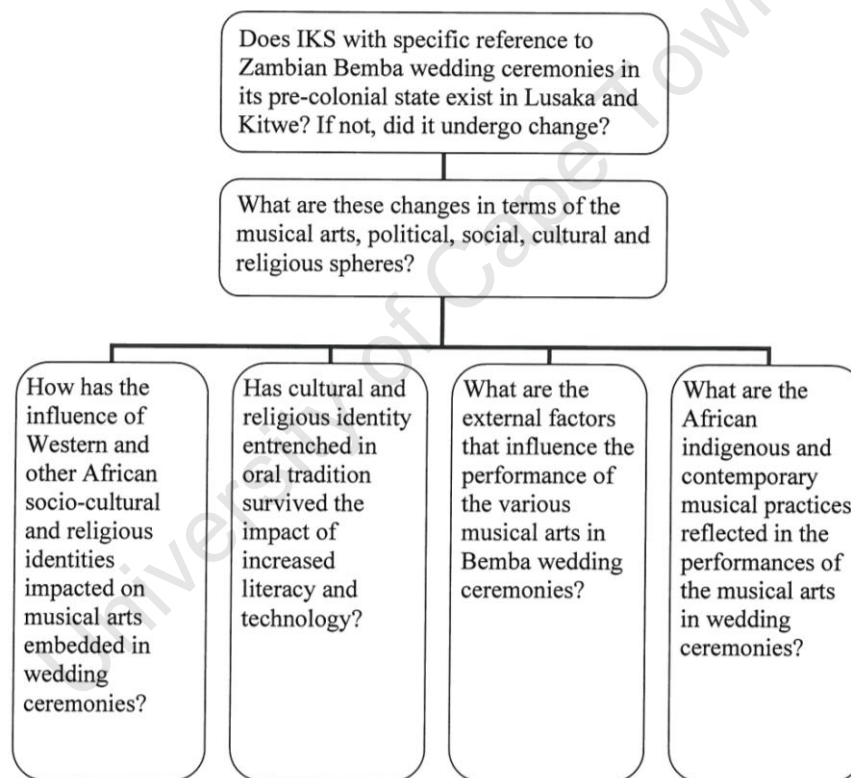
⁵ ‘Eurocentric’ refers to European educational, legal and governance systems, as well as to behaviour and styles of dress.

ceremonies have been chosen because they very clearly reflect permutations as a result of cultural and political influences. Hence the primary research question is:

How did colonisation and globalisation impact on the existence and nature of the musical arts as a subset of IKS with specific reference to Zambian Bemba wedding ceremonies?

A breakdown of the research question into secondary research questions with sub-questions is presented in Figure 1.1:

Figure 1.1 Secondary research question and sub-questions



The following are the objectives of the study:

- To investigate the existence of IKS with specific reference to wedding ceremonies in Lusaka and Kitwe, and whether wedding ceremonies have undergone change;
- To establish the changes in terms of the political, social, cultural and religious spheres;
- To determine the influence of other African and Western and socio-cultural and religious identities, and how they have impacted on the musical arts embedded in Bemba wedding ceremonies;
- To investigate whether a cultural and religious identity entrenched in oral tradition has survived the impact of increased literacy and technology;

- To determine the African indigenous and contemporary musical practices reflected in the performances of the musical arts in wedding ceremonies; and
- To identify the emerging model of Bemba wedding ceremonies in the twenty-first century and provide a rationale for the emergent model.

1.2 Significance of study

There are few in-depth scholarly studies of the acculturation of the musical arts as a component of Zambian IKS (see Section 1.4). It is against this background that the findings of this study will contribute significantly to scholarly work in the following ways: (a) the findings will contribute to future research on the musical arts and their role in multicultural societies in Africa; (b) institutions of learning may benefit from a detailed account of the musical arts in Bemba wedding ceremonies and the emergent theoretical framework, which may guide them in their organisation of musical arts programmes in order to render them meaningful to their communities; and (c) in general societies throughout Africa may re-instate and strengthen the use of the musical arts in order to deal with issues that affect African people such as poverty, disease and interethnic conflicts.

1.3 Research design

This research is qualitative in nature and as such employs qualitative methods as these methods (a) offer a platform from which to focus on the social contexts of activities; and (b) allow the researcher ‘to understand people in terms of their own definition of the world’ (Mouton 2001:194). Interviews and participant observation provide the necessary information for an area of study which has not received scholarly attention before. Extensive literature reviews are conducted in order to situate the study within the appropriate scholarly discourse.

1.3.1 Demarcation of study

The demarcation in this study has two dimensions, namely in its chosen musical arts genre and specified geographical location.

The study examines Bemba traditional wedding ceremonies and the Western style ceremonies commonly known as the ‘White wedding’.⁶ The focus of the study is on (a) documenting the ‘white wedding’ ceremonies; and (b) comparing them with the indigenous wedding ceremonies, which have already been documented in the researcher’s Masters study (Lumbwe

⁶ ‘White weddings’ follow the traditional Bemba ceremonies together with the ‘Western-style’ Christian wedding ceremonies. Western-style in this instance refers to dress, venue and setting of the ceremonies.

2004).⁷ Apart from using material collected on indigenous wedding ceremonies for the study completed in 2004, the researcher continued to add findings to the indigenous wedding category while studying white wedding ceremonies. White wedding ceremonies depict the current trends of the lifestyle of the people of Lusaka and Kitwe. Although many ethnic groups in Zambia have different cultural practices, Bemba wedding ceremonies have been chosen for this study. Because of cross-cultural marriages, Bemba indigenous wedding ceremonies have been amalgamated with Western-style wedding ceremonies and these acculturated forms became very popular and are widely practised throughout Zambia (Kapwepwe 2002).

Field research for this study was conducted in Lusaka and Kitwe, the capital of Zambia and a Copperbelt city in Zambia respectively. These two areas are the main urbanised cultural, industrial and economic centres in Zambia and they share similar historical backgrounds. Therefore the two cities are ideal to study the effects of globalisation on socio-cultural practices.

1.3.2 Population and sample

In order to meet the objectives of this study, a sample of 25 marriage ceremonies was recorded and analysed. This sample was drawn from weddings conducted at the time of the research and further determined by whether permission of the family members involved in a wedding was granted. Care was taken not to investigate more than one wedding per family, as the collection and analysis of weddings from different families afforded the researcher a broader knowledge base. The 25 collected marriage ceremonies yielded over 100 songs and dances. From these a sample of 30 was drawn based on the following criteria: (a) permission from *bana chimbasa* (mid-wives) and their guidance as to the relevance of a song to the ceremonies; and (b) the clarity of recordings. Bemba ethics also determined that certain musical arts related to Bemba indigenous wedding ceremonies should not be displayed in this study.

Apart from interviewing people directly related to the wedding ceremonies, the opinion of a cross-section of people over various generations were sought. Although the data analysis is

⁷ The Master's research project investigated the specific role of music, dance and drama within the traditional marriage rites of the Bemba-speaking people of Northern Zambia. Special attention was given to the type and meaning of the musical arts, the way they are used, and the reasons why they are used in that particular way. Ethnographic recordings and analysis of musical arts in relation to wedding ceremonies were also done.

qualitative in nature, very basic statistical principles were used to define the purposive-based sample of people to be interviewed. The population of Lusaka is two million people, while Kitwe has one and a half million people. Since it was not feasible to interview everybody in Lusaka and Kitwe, the researcher had to narrow down the number of research participants to a manageable figure. As such the numbers presented in Figure 1.2 represent the research participants interviewed and their stratification according to the selection criteria, which is outlined later in this section.

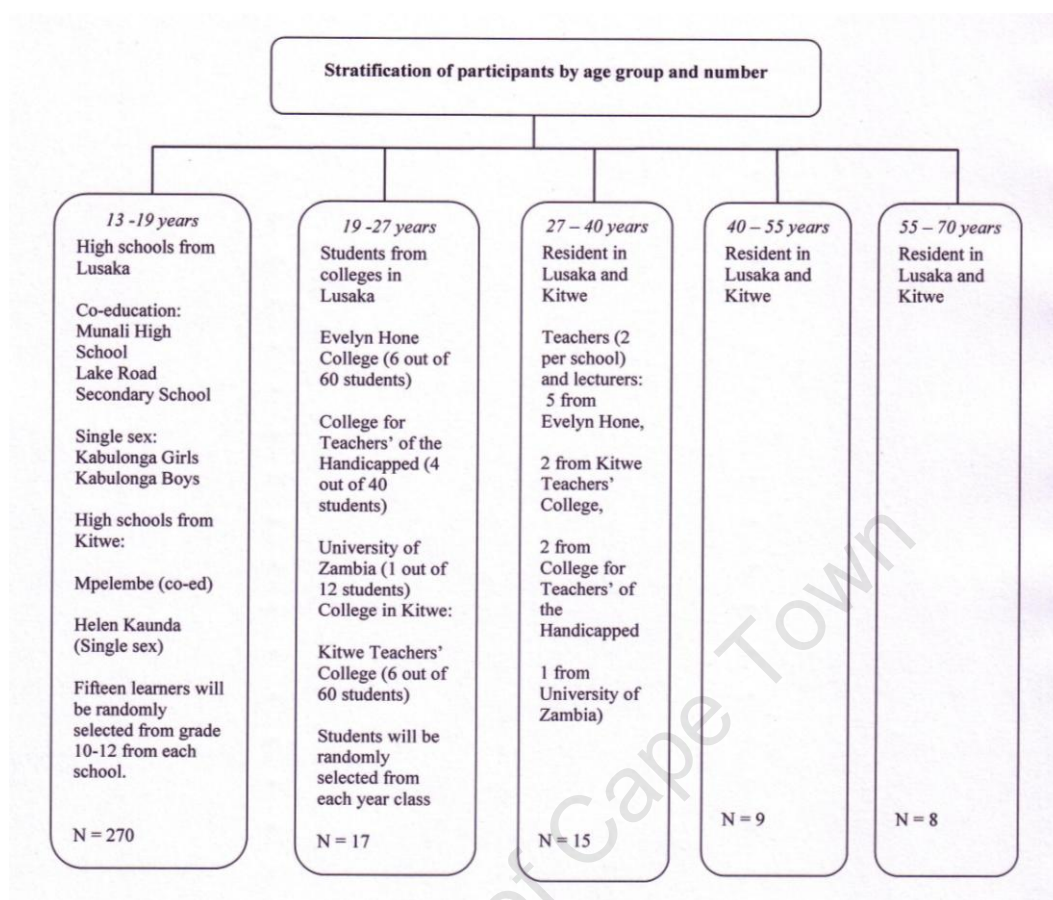
Research participants drawn from Lusaka and Kitwe included those from selected secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, and adults from different walks of life. The schools and colleges covered included the following: Kabulonga Girls' High School, Kabulonga Boys' High School, Munali High School and Lake Road Secondary school in Lusaka, and Helen Kaunda Girls' High School and Mpelembe Secondary School in Kitwe, Evelyn Hone College, the College for Teachers of the Handicapped in Lusaka and Kitwe Teachers College in Kitwe. Learners from schools and colleges were chosen for this study, because (a) they represent the age groups 13-27 years; and (b) it was practical to interview groups of learners and also to find an environment conducive to conducting the interviews.

The sample of research participants was therefore stratified as shown in Figure 1.2 to draw broad-based representation of views from various age groups (experience and perceptions of worldviews would differ according to age group). Ten percent of participants were drawn randomly from the first two groups (13–19 years and 19–27 years), while the full population from the other three age groups was used as they were fewer in number to meet the said criteria as stated below. Therefore, 10% of a possible 2 826 Grade 10–12 learners in the selected schools, and 10% of a possible 172 students from selected colleges were used.⁸ The following criteria were used to select the research participants:

- Active institutional involvement in the musical arts (where applicable);
- Experience in terms of Zambian traditional culture from the Bemba ethnic group;
- Involvement in musical arts performances and organisation;
- Academic status (where applicable).

⁸ The number of research participants interviewed was based on the enrolment lists (per class/grade) from the schools and colleges where the fieldwork research was conducted.

Figure 1.2 Sampling



In the age group 55–70 years, participants' age groups had to be estimated as it is regarded as disrespectful to make inquiries about a person's age.

1.3.3 Ethical considerations

Prior arrangements were made through the Zambia National Arts Council to conduct field research in Lusaka and to obtain the consent of all those selected to be interviewed. Research participants were also briefed on matters concerning confidentiality and requested to sign a consent form before the commencement of field research. For the high school learners, permission was sought from their school authorities and also from their parents/guardians. Bottorff recommends that 'subjects who are videotaped should give their consent and confidentiality must be ensured' (in De Vos *et al.* 1998:330). This is also in conformity with UCT's requirements for all research conducted under their auspices. In keeping with Bottorff's recommendation, confidentiality was strictly observed in order to avoid embarrassment, administrative or legal implications for those interviewed. In addition,

research participants were at liberty to: (a) request certain parts of the interview not to be audio or video recorded; and (b) withdraw from the exercise at any point of the research.⁹

Among the selected high schools permission was granted by Kabulonga Girls' High School, Kabulonga Boys' High school, Munali Girls' High School, Munali Boys' High School and Lake Road School in Lusaka, and Helen Kaunda Girls' High School and Mpelembe Secondary School in Kitwe. Among the selected institutions of higher learning, permission was granted by Evelyn Hone College and the College for Teachers of the Handicapped in Lusaka and Kitwe Teachers' Training College in Kitwe. Initially Kamwala High School was included among the schools, but because the Head Teacher demanded payment,¹⁰ I opted to withdraw from this school and that is how Lake Road School was selected. Besides schools and colleges, other institutions such as media houses and record dealers were approached and special arrangements were made for me to access information and documents relevant for my study. These institutions included Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), Times of Zambia, The Post, Radio Ichengelo, Muvi Pose, National Archives, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR), Zambia Union of Musicians and Sounds Arcade, to mention but a few.

Bemba cultural ethics were also taken into account, especially the fact that the researcher could not request older research participants to reveal their exact ages. Such as question, according to the Bemba, is regarded as being very disrespectful. Because of this, the ages of research participants have not been revealed. Some research participants requested that their names not be revealed and only their titles relevant to the specific marriage ceremony, such as *nachimbumsa* (midwife).

1.3.4 Data collection

Data were collected by utilising qualitative interviews, which 'emphasise the relativism of culture, the active participation of the interviewer, and the importance of giving the interviewee voice' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:31). Individual semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews are the main instruments for data collection. 'Individual cultural

⁹ Please refer to Appendices A–C.

¹⁰ The Head Teacher demanded a large amount of money from me because he thought that I was given a lot of money to conduct my research. It was very hard for me to convince him otherwise. The result was that I approached another school, in this case Lake Road.

interview’¹¹ and ‘individual topical interview’¹² styles were used during the different interviews sessions with research participants. Rubin and Rubin (1995:31) argue that:

In practice these cultural and topical styles are often mixed in a single interview; the researcher may alternate between listening for nuanced cultural meanings and asking about events.

Focus group interviews have been selected for high school and college students because, firstly, this saves time as there are many students. Secondly, as Denzin (1989) indicates, groups create their own structures and provide access to their own level of meaning. Students may demand clarity of arguments and express a diversity of views, while at the same time themselves re-evaluating points that they contributed and others may require to be amplified, amended or qualified, or may even contradict them.

During the interview sessions, individual and group, audio-visual recordings were made of all the conversations and interviews. These recordings were the main data collection instruments and are supplemented with field notes. This research also involves collection of data from electronic databases and websites, books and journals, theses and dissertations, conference papers, seminar papers, newsletters and monographs. Audio and video recordings of wedding ceremonies and rituals were conducted through observation and also active participation.

The data-capturing process included the use of two video cameras, one digital and one analogue, two audio dictaphones and digital still cameras. This combination of electronic devices was used to safeguard against machine failure, because experience showed that recording equipment is sensitive to unfavourable conditions and a result in unclear images and/or sound. The idea of using backup equipment is emphasised by Arom (1991:101–102), who pointed out that the utilisation of both audio and video equipment is favourable for data collection and observation. Furthermore, recordings enable the researcher to focus on pertinent issues or actions that could not be attended to during the actual time of the interview or ceremony.

The data from all the available sources that were utilised during the research process were integrated and collated to conclude the data-collection process (Mouton 2001:198).

¹¹ Cultural interviews involve listening to what people say as opposed to posing detailed and focused questions, since they are intended to show how people see, understand and interpret the world (Rubin & Rubin 1995:195).

¹² Topical interviews are subject specific and based on the interviewer’s chosen subjects. Such interviews involve active interaction and follow-ups in the form of questioning and rapid exchanges. As opposed to cultural interviews, here there is less concern with shades of meanings (Rubin & Rubin 1995:195).

1.3.4a Details of investigation: describing the research journey

Setting out to conduct a study of this magnitude requires a considerable amount of time and patience to produce a comprehensive and representative report. Furthermore, the data-collection process includes making of audio and video recordings of actual musical arts, rituals and ceremonies. The whole process of attending some of the rituals and ceremonies contributed to the lengthening of the duration of field-research. The complexity of the data-collecting process could be demonstrated by the researcher's involvement in some critical negotiations with the elders and the Bemba Royal establishment (mediated by the Queen Mother Chandamukulu) in which verbal contracts of confidentiality had to be agreed upon. The entire study was organised in six stages, which covered a period of four years.

The research journey involved six phases, which began with Phase 1, preliminary field research that was conducted to determine whether or not the intended study was viable. The preliminary field research was undertaken immediately after the research topic was identified, and the study was conducted in Lusaka and Kitwe, between 20 March and 5 April 2005. The study was conducted mainly through conversations¹³ with participants as described below.

Between 21 March and 26 March, I spent time in Lusaka where I interviewed ten adults (six are involved in musical arts and organisation, and four are music educators). Twelve high school learners were also interviewed (three per school from Lusaka: Kabulonga Girls High School, Kabulonga Boys High School, Munali High School; Lake Road secondary school; and from Kitwe: Mpelembe Secondary School and Helen Kaunda High school). Between 28 March and 5 April, five adult participants from Kitwe were interviewed (three are involved in musical arts and organisation and two are music educators from Mpelembe Secondary School). The findings from these preliminary meetings indicated that the research topic was viable.

Phase 2 (April to September 2005) followed upon confirmation of the feasibility of the study, and entailed the identification and selection of research participants. This process involved contact personally, telephonically or through an intermediary (specially selected person to act on my behalf). Special permission to conduct the research in the country in particular schools and institutions of higher learning was also sought from the Zambia National Arts Council

¹³ Dick maintains that 'interviews and informal conversation are frequently the main source of information for researchers to develop their theories' (2005: 5).

(ZMAC), the Ministry of Education (MOE) and Ministry of Higher Education (MHE). This process involved meeting the chairperson of the ZNAC, the District Education Officer (DEO) from the MOE and the Permanent Secretary from the MHE. Thereafter, I met selected schools and colleges' Head Teachers and Principals and possible periods of conducting interviews were established.

During this period I made a trip to Lusaka under the auspices of the Kola Foundation Trust to attend the official launch of their organisation. It is imperative to point out that this event was very important for my research as it attracted close to twenty chiefs from all over Zambia. This gave me an opportunity to meet and discuss pertinent issues with all the traditional leaders present without having to travel to their different places of residence. Indeed the meetings with the royal traditional leaders were facilitated with the kind assistance of the Bemba Queen Mother, Mama Chandamukulu, and my elder brother, Mr Mwila Lumbwe. The actual launch of the Kola foundation took place on 22 July 2005, but the chiefs stayed for a week in Lusaka. It was during this one week that I was assigned as personal chauffeur to Mama Chandamukulu, and as I ran errands for her, we spent time discussing my research and she also introduced me to specialists on Bemba culture and traditions. The meetings with the different traditional leaders afforded me a chance to access certain classified information on traditions and customs.

Phase 3 was conducted between October and December 2005; this period was dedicated to the literature survey, preparation for fieldwork and video editing DVD production lessons. During this time I embarked on an extensive literature review, making use of various resources such as the University of Cape Town (UCT) libraries. Every day was divided into sections of time when I visited the library and spent time reviewing literature within the library grounds or in some cases simply collected books and journals and worked at my home. Other times in the day were apportioned to making the necessary preparations and arrangements for fieldwork. This process entailed doing administration work in terms of contacting research participants organising funds for transport, lodging, audio and video equipment, and other sundry materials and activities. For a period of 2 weeks part of my time during the day was spent on lessons on video editing and DVD production with Mr Neil Mcpherson at Media Junction in Camps Bays, Cape Town. For another three weeks I attended the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Course (SOC400.6 based on NVIVO programme) facilitated by Dr Jacques de Wet. The two courses were very intensive.

I was fortunate in that during the Sociology course (SOC400.6) I had the opportunity to work with a group of students from the Psychology Department who were about to submit their theses. I was privileged to view the last part of their research journey and learn from it. This engagement lasted for 4 weeks and it was very fruitful. In the case of video editing, I embarked on the production of short documentaries on musical arts events within UCT and birthday anniversary parties for friends. The documentary recordings were produced by Kankoko Media Productions Ltd Company in Lusaka.

January to December 2006 constituted Phase 4. This is the period during which intensive fieldwork was conducted. Because of the need to attend as many wedding ceremonies as possible in Lusaka and Kitwe, and also to attend to other academic obligations at UCT and Social Science Research Council (SSRC)/Mellon (MMUF) conferences in USA, I had to formulate a timetable based on the different dates for the wedding ceremonies and conferences. I also had to schedule focus group interviews for schools and colleges, and for individuals who were available during my visits to Lusaka and Kitwe. This process entailed travelling in and out of Zambia every two months and in some cases monthly. This also enabled me to conduct literature surveys at the University of Zambia Library (UNZA Library), the Institute for African Studies, Zambia National Archives and Zambia Cultural Services.

I had to engage a research assistant who recorded the negotiations,¹⁴ initial arrangements and preparations and sent the recordings to me for review before I attended the actual ceremonies. Though this was a very costly venture (payment of research assistant and courier services of audio and video tapes), it was a worthwhile undertaking as I had the opportunity to get in-depth knowledge about planning and what was to be expected. Knowing what to expect assisted me to plan exactly, especially when it came to audio and video equipment. It also gave me a chance to identify certain key role players and as a result it was easy for me to focus on them when I took part in the actual ceremony.

¹⁴ Marriage negotiations in the Bemba sense involve *ukukobekela* (proposal and engagement), which entails the presentation of the betrothal gifts called *insalamo*, *impango*, *ichipula* and *ubwimashi* to the family of the woman (see Lumbwe 2004).

The task of participant observation was particularly difficult when I was asked to perform certain tasks at some of the marriage ceremonies. In some cases it meant that I had to abandon the operating of the cameras and tape recorders (leaving them unattended to, simply placed on tripod stands). The risks of doing so included the equipment going missing or somebody bumping into it, or changing or tampering with the angle of the shot. At one of the wedding receptions, I was entrusted with the responsibility of representing *shibwinga*'s (the groom's) father by presenting a speech on his behalf. During the segment when I was delivering my speech the main video camera was turned off by one of the children in attendance.

The attendance of wedding ceremonies was not the only way in which I collected information. Some of the research participants fortunately assured me that my research project has great potential and they not only organised people to record wedding ceremonies for me, but also presented me with video tapes which I could review at my own time. During the times I conducted my reviews I was afforded a chance to confer with certain role players within the families of the wedding couples concerned. These consultations were conducted either telephonically or through personal meetings.

When conducting the interviews at schools and colleges, on the set date I report to the institution's head and am then assigned a room and the learners were invited in. Before the interviews commenced, I usually asked the participants to suggest a way in which they preferred to sit. Once the sitting arrangements were determined, I made a few adjustments to suit the positioning of the recording equipment. I found it very helpful to begin by spending a few minutes talking informally about my personal experiences as student and then let the learners talk about theirs as well. This activity served as an ice breaker, as well as a means for introductions; it gave the learners confidence to express themselves freely as they got used to me. After the interviews I played back the recordings in order for the research participants to review and make comments. Some clarifications on certain points raised by some of the participants were made and these I noted in my note book.

Personal interviews were conducted at the selected venue by the research participant. In most cases I had to go to their homes, where a specially prepared place was set for the interview to be conducted. Due to the weather conditions, which were mostly hot, three quarters of the personal interviews were conducted outdoors. On the one hand, this state of affairs was very favourable for video recording as I had enough light to capture sharp and clear shots. While

the atmosphere outdoors was very relaxing and conducive to lengthy interviews, in some instances outdoor interviews proved to be problematic. Firstly, there was the 'noise' factor, either from children playing in the neighbourhood, cars passing in the road or just strong winds that caused distortions on the sound quality of the recordings. Secondly, I could not use electricity for the cameras and audio recorders, so I had to rely on batteries. When the interview was longer than the battery life, the sections towards the end of the interview were recorded on paper. Interviews conducted indoors were easy to record, but usually suffered from poor lighting, because I did not have a high-power light to enhance the lighting system provided in the building.

Phase 5 was conducted between January and December 2007. This entailed a combination of a continuation of data collection and an analysis of collected data. The data-collection process was scheduled as presented in Phase 4, but this time the periods that I was not conducting interviews or attending weddings were spent on transcription of interviews and observations, video recordings. In order to achieve accuracy, transcriptions were processed both manually and by computer. Two research assistants were contracted (Miss Ajwang Waria and Miss Chalwe Musonda) to assist in transcribing the interviews. Although I had contracted assistants for transcribing interviews, I personally transcribed musical arts (music, dance and dramatisation) recordings. For all the recordings that were in Bemba both the original language and the English translation are provided within the text of this thesis.

As stated in the opening remarks for this section, data analysis was not the only activity I was involved in during this period. I also had to continue with data collection and in this period I had to complete focus group interviews for schools and colleges. In this phase I covered the following schools and colleges: Munali High School and Lake Road School and Kitwe Teachers' Training College in Kitwe. Here also the interviews were planned around wedding ceremonies that I had to attend in Lusaka and Kitwe.

In Phase 6, which was conducted between January and December 2008, the first few months in the year were spent on data verification and attending certain wedding ceremonies that were postponed from the previous year (only two ceremonies). In February I had to attend the SSRC/MMUF Proposal and Dissertation writing workshop in Philadelphia.

Soon after attending the writing workshop in Philadelphia, I embarked on writing my research report. This process was conducted amidst other academic commitments such as the teaching exchange programme at the Kungl. Musikhögskolan i Stockholm (The Royal College of Music in Stockholm/Sweden). During my stint in Sweden I presented part of my research findings in an open lecture and the feedback from that was a very useful contribution towards the writing of the research project.

1.3.5 Data analysis

Interviews were transcribed, categorised and coded for comparison, looking for variations and nuances in meaning and connections between themes (Rubin & Rubin 1995:226). During the process of coding, memos which contained the products of the actual coding, theoretical sensitising and summarising notes were recorded. In addition, journal entries documenting what was happening in the process of analysis were maintained (Miles & Huberman 1994:50–87; Richards & Richards 1995; Babbie & Mouton 2001:489–516).

Transcriptions used in this study are based on a sampling of 30 songs among the songs which the researcher collected throughout this study. Recordings were made during marriage ceremonies in which the researcher was participant observer and also from recordings made by a research assistant for certain restricted ceremonials/rituals. This experience afforded the researcher an opportunity to learn to understand some of the techniques behind their production, especially with drumming, and also to check and understand the song texts and their deeper meaning with the help of research participants.

Marriage *mfunkutu* music presented in this study was first transcribed manually and then digitised with the aid of Sibelius computer software.

To facilitate easy management of textual data and accuracy in analysis the Nvivo computer-aided qualitative analysis software was used (Bezeley & Richards, 2000).¹⁵ Mouton (2001:198) points out that computer-aided software can also be used as a tool to aid in the ‘storage and retrieval of information, as well as other functions that programmes [...] offer’.

The process of analysing data which the researcher adopted was based on the principles of Grounded Theory (Glaser, 1998), which could be summarised as follows;

¹⁵ The researcher completed a course in qualitative data analysis using the Nvivo software at the Graduate School of Humanities, University of Cape Town. The course convener was Dr Jacques de Wet.

Data collection:	Individual and focus group interviews with participants (recorded on audio visual equipment).
Note taking:	As interviews proceeded, the researcher would ‘take key-word notes and convert them to themes afterwards’ (Dick, 2005:5).
Coding:	From the interviews (beginning with the first) certain theoretical propositions that occurred were assigned special symbols (for identification purposes). Categories were generated by constant comparison of emerging theories from interview to interview, and also creating sub-categories.
Memoing:	Notes to guide the researcher in ‘emerging categories and properties, and their links to the core category which provides the theory’ (Dick, 2005:3) were maintained.
Sorting:	In order to make the emerging theory clear, memos were grouped and sequenced according to similar properties (like to like).

Research participants were stratified to enable broad-based representation through various age groups and the final presentation of research findings presents an amalgamation of the responses of the participants as a whole to determine the emergent model.

1.4 Literature review

As already indicated in Section 1.2, a survey of the literature on the musical arts (*mfunkutu*)¹⁶ entrenched in Bemba wedding ceremonies and that indicating acculturation of musical arts in Zambia proved this field to be very limited. However, within this scope of limited publications, literary works pertaining to musical arts practices in Africa, IKS, culture and education were covered. The literature search findings are presented below.

1.4.1 Bemba indigenous knowledge systems (Bemba IKS)

While there is a need to study Bemba IKS in greater detail, aspects of it have been covered by scholars such as Brelsford (1948), Tanguy (1948), Whiteley (1950), Kasonde (1953), Richards (1956), Mapashi (1955 and 1956), Kaemba (1957), Mushindo (1958), Musapu and Mpashi (1962), Kay (1964), Roberts (1973), Frost (1977), Kambole (1980), Poewe (1981), Corbeil (1982), Mulenga (1982), Chondoka (1988), Chitula (1989), Chilamo (1994), Kapwepwe (1994), Rasing (1995); Kapwepwe M. (2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b). The sources listed above outlined issues concerning the Bemba ranging from their history, marriage

¹⁶ *Mfunkutu* is a term that describes the songs and dances of the Bemba indigenous wedding ceremonies. In this thesis the word *mfunkutu* denotes Bemba indigenous music. To distinguish between song and dance which are described in Bemba with the same term, *mfunkutu* song or *mfunkutu* dance is used.

traditions and customs, belief systems, daily livelihood, proverbs (*amapinda*), poems (*amalango/imishikakulo*), stories with songs (*inshimi*), and dietary matters. Related studies from other cultural groups in Zambia include Doke (1931), Brelsford (1949), Colson and Gluckman (1951a and 1951b), Colson (1958), White (1962), Lukhero (1985), Wele (1993) and Sumaili (1994), Mubanga (2006) and Mufana (2006), among others. The studies have thrown light on some cultural and traditional practices that are similar to those of the Bemba.

Publications that provide accounts on Zambian urban life and social changes, national education system, and related topics in Zambia were also consulted, including Powdermaker (1962); Mulford (1967); Mwanakatwe (1974); Epstein (1978); Kashoki (1990); Kelly (1999); Carmody (2004); Hinfelaar (2004) among others.

There is very little scholarly work completed on Zambian musical arts, although Bemba musical arts have received more attention than the musical arts of other ethnic groups in Zambia, as will be shown later. Publications on musics from other ethnic groups include studies by Rycroft (1954) on the music of the Tonga of the Southern Province of Zambia; Tracey H (1957); Tracey H and Tracey P (1959) recordings on *Kalumbu* music of the Tonga and Ila people; Njunga (1960) on the music of the Lozi of Western Province of Zambia; Blacking (1961) on Kalimba music of the Nsenga of Eastern Province of Zambia, Mondela (1972) on Mukanda and Makishi of North-western Province of Zambia, Davidson (1973) on Kalumbu music of the Tonga and Soli of Central and Lusaka Provinces of Zambia, and Tsukada (1988, 1991) on music of the Luvale of North-western Province of Zambia.

The following studies have been conducted in connection with Bemba IKS, specifically on topics concerning the musical arts:

- Bemba marriage and present economic conditions (Richards 1940);
- *Chisungu*: a girls' initiation ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Zambia (Richards 1956);
- The *Kalela* dance (Mitchell 1956);
- The determinants of style in the music of *Ingomba* (Mapoma 1980);
- Reassessing the music education programme in Zambia: towards a new direction for music education in Zambia (Ng'andu 1999);
- The role of music in the traditional marriage ceremonies of the Bemba-speaking people of Northern Zambia (Lumbwe 2004);

- *Utushimi*: an emergent approach to musical arts education based on the *inshimi* practice of Bemba storytelling (Ng'andu 2009.)

The limited scholarly work with regards to indigenous musical arts and music education can be attributed to the development of education and music education in the country. Muwowo (1987) points out that after independence (attained in 1964), the Zambian government was interested in mass literacy, including all people in the country from young children to adults. Mubita, Nyirenda, Nayame Kakanda and Muyunda (2005) add that the focus of education was on developing subjects such as English, Mathematics and Science; these formed the core subjects of school curricula at various levels of learning (primary, secondary and tertiary). National aspirations for mass literacy were based on an education programme adopted from the British, who were the colonisers of Zambia (Mwesa (2005). This development created a vacuum between the 'core subjects' and practical subjects such as music, metalwork and woodwork. The result is the categorisation of practical subjects as co-curricular activities.

With regards to music education, Mwesa (2005:178) points out that:

Music education curricula [...] have been structured in line with Western and/or North American music education curriculum models. Western and North American music curriculum models tend to reinforce the view that Western music education is the quintessential form of music education.

Mwesa's comment highlights the inequalities in terms of the ratio between Western and indigenous components in the Zambia National Music Curriculum and the effect that these inequalities have on the organisation and implementation of music education in Zambia. From studies such as Lumbwe (1989), Mubita *et al.* (2005), Mwesa (2005) and Ng'andu (1999; 2009) the following can be noted: (a) there is no proper link between music programmes at primary school, secondary school and tertiary levels; (b) teacher training programmes are not linked to primary teacher training colleges and Evelyn Hone College and UNZA for secondary school teacher training; and (c) all institutions are biased towards Western musical arts, thereby placing indigenous musical arts on the periphery. The factors listed here are among those that have contributed to the limited number of qualified music educators that are currently produced in the country. Mubita *et al.* (2005:172) note that:

Although the government has put in place the teaching of music in all primary teachers' colleges and at Evelyn Hone College, where secondary school teachers are trained, some administrators, in their individual capacities, still resist the inclusion of music in their school curriculum. This has de-motivated music teachers.

Notable efforts are being made by scholars of music in Zambia who are advocating for the transformation of the national music curriculum from being Western based towards one inspired by indigenous musical arts inspired.

1.4.2 Musical arts entrenched in Bemba wedding ceremonies

From the studies outlined above it is clear that only the study by Lumbwe (2004) is directly related to musical arts in Bemba wedding ceremonies, specifically on *mfunkutu*, while the other six are related to Bemba IKS and music education. In this case literature on scholarly work from other parts of Africa that share similar experiences and culture have been examined and utilised for this study.

Bemba indigenous musical arts within marriage ceremonies form a crucial part of its cultural and oral traditions, and most of all, they are a rich and interwoven expression of a way of life that is incorporated and utilised in Bemba world view (Makashi 1970; Lumbwe 2004).

1.5 Outline of chapters

The research material in this study is organised in eight chapters which are presented as follows:

Chapter One outlines the study's background, purpose, research methodology and literature review. Chapter Two constitutes the historical background of the research area (Lusaka and Kitwe on the Copperbelt), and the development of musical arts practices both Zambian indigenous and contemporary forms. The chapter presents a broad overview of the evolution of musical arts from the pre-colonial era up to the present, as well as the factors that have contributed to this evolution; colonisation, Christian missionary work and globalisation.

Chapter Three provides the life-cycle ceremonies indigenous to the Bemba in the period 1800-1890, a historical account of the Bemba-speaking people, their beliefs and customs, and their geographical location in relation to other ethnic groups in Zambia. This chapter also contextualises indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies of the Bemba within the life-cycle of a person. The *ubwinga* ceremonies of the pre-colonial era (1800-1890) include the following stages: *Ukutwa ubwinga* (lit. pounding the wedding), *Ubwalwa bwa bwinga* (lit. beer for the wedding), *Ukupota ubwalwa* (Brewing the beer), *Ukuchilika musambi* (Waiting for the beer to ferment), *Ukutiya ubwinga* (Beginning of the wedding), *Ukuluula* and *ukushikula* (Undoing

of taboos), *Ukowa uluchelo* (Bathing in the morning) and *Ukusulula ifitete* (conclusion of the wedding) (Lumbwe, 2004).

Chapter Four presents categories that emerged to constitute Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies that incorporate some Christian and contemporary elements during the post-independence era to date (1965 to date).

Chapter Five compares *ubwinga* ceremonies of the pre-colonial era and the white wedding ceremonies of the post-independence era. Included in this chapter are the causes of the socio-cultural influences on Bemba wedding ceremonies.

Chapter Six presents a detailed documentation and analysis of the musical arts embedded in Bemba wedding ceremonies. The analysis of musical arts in this chapter is performed at two levels: firstly, the Bemba indigenous, *mfunkutu*, and contemporary musical styles including *Kalindula*, hip-hop, reggae, rock, pop, zouk, *kizomba*, *kwaito*, bubble gum, *simajemanje*, *kwela*, *sinjonjo*, to mention but a few.

Based on the findings of the research outlined in Chapters Two, Three, Four, Five and Six, Chapter Seven presents an emergent model of 21st-century wedding ceremonies of the Bemba people. It furthermore links the model to Bemba philosophy as well as eastern and Central African philosophies.

Chapter Eight presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of this research, and makes recommendations for the creation of sustainable, integrated national musical arts practices that would assist in dealing with societal issues. Furthermore, recommendations for further research emanating from pertinent issues that have not been exhausted are also presented.

1.6 Notes on Bemba orthography

Throughout this thesis the researcher followed the Bemba orthography prescribed by the Ministry of Education of Zambia. However, in some instances it was imperative to change certain rules to avoid confusing readers who may be influenced by other languages. Therefore, the following words should be noted as follows:

Table 1.1 List of Bemba words

Bemba word		Researcher's spelling
<i>Icupo</i>		<i>Ichuupo</i>
<i>Icipuna</i>		<i>Ichipuna</i>
<i>Icipula</i>		<i>Ichipula</i>
<i>Icibemba</i>		<i>Ichibemba</i>
<i>Cisungu</i>		<i>Chisungu</i>

From the table above it is noticeable that the sound 'ch' as in 'church' is written as 'c'. However, in the case of proper nouns such as names of people, places and other objects, 'ch' is maintained (for example in the names: Chitimukulu, Chabala, Chanda etc). In the word *ichuupo* the vowel 'u' been doubled. This is acceptable in Bemba orthography when indicating long vowel sounds especially in cases where the same word has two or more meanings. Mann (1977:1–8) points out that instead of using the symbol 'ú' it is easier to understand the length of the vowel when it is doubled. In addition Chimuka (1977: viii) points out that:

In *Icibemba*, for example, the word *akapanga* can be pronounced in three different ways to give three different meanings. This is shown in writing by the insertion of diacritic marks on vowels to indicate tonal distinctions. These words are so many in our languages that, if tone were to be symbolised in every one of them in ordinary literature books, fluency in reading might be seriously hampered. Because of this it has been decided not to symbolise tone in writing except in dictionaries and grammar books where emphasis is on language structure.

It should also be noted that morphemes of some words are fused when the words are spoken or sung. The same syllables are separated when written – for instance:

Table 1.2 Table showing fusion of sounds

Written		Spoken
<i>Mulangile amone</i>		<i>Mulangilya mone</i>
<i>Bamayo ako baombebe</i>		<i>Bamaywa ko baombebe</i>

The fusion of 'o' and 'a' creates the sound 'wa' while 'e' and 'a' create 'ya'. Fusion of vowels in this way is a very common feature of *Ichibemba* and other Bantu languages.

Other sounds that should be taken note of include the following:

Table 1.3 List of different sounds and the way they should be pronounced

Sound	Pronunciation
‘ng’	As in the word lung
‘b’	As in the word Bwalya the ‘b’ is spoken softly, almost sound like a ‘v’; it is a fricative and not an explosive sound

1.7 Musical transcription

Discussions and guidelines on how to transcribe and how not to transcribe African music have been outlined by several ethnomusicologists such as Nettl (1964) Arom (1991), Kubik (1994), Agawu (1994, 2003) and Tracey (1997), among others. The debate on the transcription of African music highlights its importance in research analysis and acknowledges the fact the transcription provides an approximation of what the listener or researcher perceives (auditory and visual) from a performance. With this view in mind, the research adopted elements from the various transcription systems presented by the above listed scholars and more especially from Mapoma (1980)¹⁷ in order to try and represent effectively and reliably the fundamental concepts and formal structural principles operating in the Bemba marriage *mfunkutu* music. The five-line/four-paces staff has been utilised in the musical examples presented in this study because the pitches of the Bemba scale can be represented in it, although these pitches do not correspond to the absolute pitches of the Western tempered scale (Lumbwe 2004). Mapoma (1980:216) adds that, although staff notation has been used to represent transcriptions of African music, this notation system has its own limitations. Mapoma continues that to counter these limitations, additional symbols or modifications of the existing staff notation should be used in the transcription of some African music practices.

In the light of the Mapoma’s recommendation dotted lines instead of the usual solid bar lines were used with a few notational modifications. The purpose of these modifications is to remind the reader that ‘rhythmic organization [of African music] is different from that of the [musical] culture whose notation is used here’ (Mapoma 1980:217). For the sake of detecting comparisons and contrasts in terms of melodic, tonal and rhythmic traits, the songs have been transposed into the same pitch region irrespective of the pitch level in which they were originally performed.

¹⁷ Mapoma’s study is a PhD thesis specifically on the Bemba *mfunkutu* music and involves a lot of transcriptions of this music. Therefore it has been valuable for this study.

Chapter Two

Historical background

2.1 Introduction

To contextualise the changes in *mfunkutu* (Bemba wedding music) and *ubwinda* (Bemba wedding ceremonies) and their development since indigenous times, this chapter outlines the general history of Zambia and its musical arts. The chapter highlights the location, development and socioeconomic activities of Lusaka and Kitwe. These two cities not only form the focus of this study, but are also the two main urbanised cultural, industrial and economic centres in the country. The discussion covers the following three periods: the pre-colonial era (1800–1890), the colonial era (1890–1963) and the post-independence era (1965 to date).¹ This chapter is important as it presents an overview of information that is vital to the understanding of what the influences on the musical arts have been as well as the outcomes of these influence.

2.2 Zambia: general background

Geographically Zambia² is a landlocked country located in the southern central region of Africa. It is situated roughly between 22 degrees longitude to 34 degrees longitude, east of the meridian line and between 8 degrees and 18 degrees latitude south of the Equator. Zambia derived its name from one of its major rivers, the Zambezi, and it covers an area of 752 614 square kilometres (Virmani 1989:1; Lumbwe 2004:207). For a more detailed description of Zambia's geographical location and physical features refer to Lumbwe (2004:207–211).

¹ Turok (1999:22) outlines four periods: Mining Company Rule (1891–1924), Colonial Office Rule (1924–1953), Federation Rule (1953–1963), and Post Independence (1964 onwards). For the purposes of this study, the Colonial office rule and Federation Rule have been combined and therefore three periods are discussed instead of four.

² Zambia was formerly known as Northern Rhodesia after the amalgamation of the North-western and North-eastern Rhodesian territories (Collins 1986:95).

Figure 2.1 Map of Zambia, showing the nine provinces <Zamcom-map>



Zambia is divided into nine provinces: the Copperbelt, Central, Northern, North-Western, Eastern, Luapula, Western, Southern and Lusaka. The provinces have been further subdivided into 72 districts. Five of these districts have been granted city status and the rest town status <Zamcom-map>. The population comprises 73 Bantu-speaking ethnic groups. Some ethnic groups are small and only two have enough people to constitute at least ten per cent of the country's population. In 2005 the population was estimated at 11 261 795 by the Central Statistical Office (CSO), a government department under the Ministry of Finance and National Planning <Zamcom-map>. There is an expatriate population, mostly British (close to 15 000) and South African, who live mostly in Lusaka and in the Copperbelt, where they are employed in the mines and related activities. Zambia also has a small but economically important Asian population, most of whom are Indians. The dominant religion is Christianity, while the other faiths include indigenous beliefs, Islam and Hinduism. In 1995 Zambia was declared a Christian nation by the second Republican President, Mr Fredrick Chiluba. In relation to the distribution of the population throughout the country, Zambia is the third most urbanised country in Africa, with over 40% of its population living in the urban areas (GRZ 1981:8; IBRD 1981:179; Rakodi 1994:342), 'although a considerable proportion of the urban

population reside in the Copperbelt towns' (Wood *et al.* 1981:164). However, the number today has even grown well over 42% <Zamcom-map>. The urban population has grown rapidly, mostly as a result of the colonial exploitation of the county's mineral resources, which resulted in rural-urban migration (Mitchell 1951:20; Mwanza 1979:27; Virmani 1989:24; Rakodi 1994:342; Mulenga 2006:2).

The indigenous hunter-gatherer occupants of Zambia began to be displaced or absorbed by more advanced migrating ethnic groups, namely the Bantu-speaking peoples, as early as the 12th century (Tanguay 1948). According to archaeological evidence, Zambia has the longest history in terms of the Bantu people, because ethnic groups started settling in this region more than a million years ago (Fagan and Phillipson 1966). These ethnic groups were the descendants of the Bantu of the Great Lakes Region of East Africa who came into the region via the Luba-Lunda Empire of the southern Democratic Republic of Congo and Northern Angola. However, their date of their arrival in Zambia is not explicitly stated (Brelsford 1956). The migrating groups from the north were joined by those from the south, who included the Ngoni, a breakaway group from the Nguni people of South Africa. According to studies done by Brelsford (1956), Mainga (1966), Roberts (1966) and Wotela (2007), ethnic groups in Zambia have been categorised into three groups according to origin and period of arrival in the country. These studies indicate that Bantu groups started arriving in present-day Zambia as early as the 12th century (groups from the Great Lakes Region), between the 16th and 18th Centuries (groups from the Luba-Lunda Kingdoms) and the 19th century (groups from South Africa).³

³ The classifications of ethnic groups in Zambia according to their areas of origin and periods of arrival is important to this study as Brelsford (1956) indicates that customs, norms and way of life could have been transformed and this was dependent on the areas that the people passed through and the groups of people they encountered during migration before they finally settled in Zambia.

the Federation of Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe)⁴ and Nyasaland (Malawi) was formed. The Federal government took control for ten years, when power was handed over to the first African government under the leadership of Kenneth David Kaunda and the United National Independence Party (UNIP). The post-independence period, from 1964 onwards could be subdivided into three periods, namely First Republic (1964 to 1972), Second Republic (1972 to 1991) and the Third Republic (1991 to date). The post-independence period has been subdivided in this way as each of the republics represents significant changes in the lives of the people of Zambia politically, economically and socially as well as musically, the area of specific concern in this study.

During the post-independence period Zambia's involvement in the liberation struggles for the independence of the Portuguese eastern and western territories (Mozambique and Angola), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South West Africa (Namibia) and South Africa resulted in an influx of members of political parties from these countries, who became exiles in Zambia. Furthermore, due to the political instability in some neighbouring countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mozambique, Angola and Rwanda, which experienced civil wars, Zambia has continued to be a home for many refugees from these countries. With the help of the United Nations, special resettlement schemes have been established throughout the country to meet the needs of the refugees <Zamcom-history>. Politically, the African National Congress (ANC) led by Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula (commonly known as the Old Lion) was the first political party to be formed during the struggle for independence (Mwanakatwe 1994:9). Initially, when the party was formed in 1948, it was known as the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, and in 1951 was renamed the African National Congress (Simons 1979:11). The subsequent parties included the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC), which was a reformation of the ANC; the UNIP, formed in 1957 under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, which took over power from the Federal government and formed the first cabinet at independence in 1964. The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) under Fredrick Chiluba took over the government in 1991 after 27 years of governance by UNIP. The MMD is still in control of the government, and after 10 years of leading the country Chiluba was succeeded by the late Levi Mwanawasa. The current President is Rupia Banda, who assumed power on 30 October 2008.

⁴ Zimbabwe was formerly known as Southern Rhodesia, hence the reason why the federation was called the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland).

Zambia's economy in the pre-colonial period, when the territory was under the governance of different African kingdoms, was subsistence-based and largely agricultural (Rakodi 1986:193–217; Mulenga 2006:1–2). After that it depended upon the copper mining industry. However, in the last two decades the government has been 'pursuing an economic diversification programme to reduce the country's reliance on the copper industry' <Zamcom>. The government's efforts to diversify the country's economy have been prompted by the fluctuation of copper prices on the world market, and for years the prices have continued to fall, especially since the 1970s, leaving a once middle-income country in a state of poverty (Rakodi 1994). After the advent of mining activities there was an increase in the demand for labour (Richards 1956; Kay 1967; Kaplan 1979; Mulenga 2006), which resulted in the migration of rural males to the mining centres. Some of these migrant labourers were recruited for mines in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Kay (1967), Kaplan (1979), Collins (1986) and Mulenga (2006) further note that in the long run a circulatory labour migration was created, where experts were drawn from South African mines to come and work in Zambian mines. Rakodi (1994) and Mulenga (2006) point out that the country's urban areas grew from the need to provide a work force for the mining industry, services to the European population and a base for administration. Thus the establishment of Zambian towns dates back to the early 1900s (Mulenga 2006). The territory was administered from Kalomo until 1907, when Livingstone became the capital (Rakodi 1994:344; Mulenga 2006). Mulenga (2006) asserts that most Zambian towns and cities emerged along two zones:

Firstly, along the railway line that was constructed for the purposes of connecting the rich copper mines in the Katanga region of the Belgian Congo to the South African ports. Secondly, on the Copperbelt, where towns and cities emerged around the copper mines. Other towns also emerged around administrative centres that were established for administering the large sparsely populated territory. (Mulenga 2006:2)

The pace of urbanisation in Zambia has, however, generally mirrored the economic trends in the dominant copper mining industry (Gann 1964; Hall 1965). The pre-independence segregated and stratified urban environment is still evident in all the towns and cities. The differentials in terms of infrastructure for the residents and planning standards are based on income (Rakodi 1994). For the low-income earners there is little or no choice but to build or buy substandard housing in unauthorised areas that have poor social and physical amenities.

David Livingstone's exploration and work towards the elimination of the slave trade gave rise to an influx of missionaries from Europe into South Central Africa, Zambia in particular. After his death the European missionaries together with the colonial administrators

recommended the establishment of a mission at a place near Cape Maclear in Nyasaland (Mpashi 1956; Kaplan 1979; Mwanakatwe 1994; Kelly 1999). In order to make stable converts to Christianity, the missionaries established mission schools, which formed an integral part of mission work, because it was hoped that formal education (literacy and numeracy) would enable the 'native' people to read the Bible and hence evangelization would be made easier (Mwanakatwe 1994; Kelly 1999). Mwanakatwe (1994) points out that graduates from the mission schools, such as the one at Cape Maclear in Nyasaland, were sent out to establish other mission stations within Nyasaland and also Zambia. One such graduate, as Mwanakatwe notes, was Julizya Kaunda, father of Kenneth Kaunda (first President of Zambia).

2.2.1 Lusaka

The city of Lusaka is the financial and administrative capital of Zambia and is part of Lusaka province, which is made up of the city of Lusaka, and the three towns Chongwe, Lwangwa and Mumbwa.⁵ Its name came from that of the Lenje village headman, Lusaaka, whose village was the site of a small agricultural service centre on a railway siding (Rakodi 1994; Mkandawire *et al.* 2006). Lusaka is located in south-central Zambia on a plateau with an altitude of 15° south of the equator, and 1 280.2 metres above sea level. It lies in an area 360 square kilometres between 15° to 25° and 28° to 17° east. The climatic conditions are very pleasant, with average temperatures ranging from 10°C to 26°C in winter and 20°C to 32°C in summer. Mkandawire *et al.* (2006) state that Lusaka has a population estimated at 1 244 187 million people.

⁵ In order to differentiate Lusaka the capital city from Lusaka the province and Lusaaka the village, the name Lusaka will be used to denote the city, Lusaka province will denote the province, while Lusaaka will denote the old name for the village.

Figure 2.3 Map of Lusaka <Europa>



Lusaka traces its history from 1905; it was a siding when the railway from the south reached the service centre, but the colonial authorities realised the latent potential for copper mining in the territory and needed a more centrally-located capital for administrative purposes (Collins 1986:95; Williams 1986:71). It is against this backdrop that Chilanga district, 15 kilometres to the south of present-day Lusaka city centre (Central Business District – CBD) was formed.⁶ Williams (1986:1) and Rakodi (1994:344) point out that the territory was administered from Kalomo until 1907, when Livingstone became the capital. In 1935 the capital was moved

⁶ The Lusaka area was chosen with the advice of a British planning consultant, S. D. Adshead, Professor of Town Planning at London University, who examined eight possible locations, including Chilanga to the south, Broken Hill (Kabwe), and four Copperbelt towns to the north (Kay, 1967: 112; Gardiner, 1970: 4).

from Livingstone to Lusaka.⁷ Artefacts found around Lusaka suggest that the area was inhabited by the local people for almost 1 000 years before the arrival of the European settlers. The main indigenous inhabitants of Lusaka province include the following ethnic groups: Lenje, Soli, Nsenga and Goba. However, as Mulenga (2006) notes, because of the migration of labourers in the 1960s and 1970s, other people from other provinces came and settled in Lusaka. Mulenga adds that 36 to 37% of the migrants came from Eastern Province, 13% from the Northern Province and 12% from the Southern Province. However, today the population of Lusaka is diverse and consists of people from all the ethnic groups found in the country. Other people found in Lusaka include people of European and Asian origin, and a small portion of those from other African countries. Concerning the representation of the population in Lusaka, Wood *et al.* (1986) observe that indigenous Zambians have always accounted for at least 80 per cent of the population, and that the European population has never at any time exceeded 20 per cent of the entire population of Lusaka. Wood *et al.* further observe that:

Lusaka has played an increasingly important role in the process of urbanisation, especially during the first 15 years of independence. Whilst not possessing the same degree of primacy as many other African capitals, Lusaka has experienced similar demographic developments, with rapid in-migration, a cosmopolitan population, major variations in residential density, and considerable contrasts between the city's population and the nation as a whole. (Wood *et al.* 1986:164)

The growth of the population of Lusaka could be attributed to three influences: firstly, natural increase; secondly, in-migration; and thirdly, the expansion of the area (Wood *et al.* 1986). The concentration of young people in Lusaka and combination of high fertility rates among urban dwellers has probably contributed increase in the birth rate above the national average (Ohadike 1981; Chipoma 1981; Wood *et al.* 1986).

During the 1960s and 1970s Nyanja was the lingua franca spoken in Lusaka. For some reason in the 1980s Bemba seems to have been more widely spoken than Nyanja, thus becoming the lingua franca of the capital city (Wood *et al.* 1986). This can be attributed to the influx of immigrants from the Copperbelt, where Bemba is the lingua franca and as such the population of Bemba-speaking people has increased tremendously (Wood *et al.* 1986; Mulenga 2006).

⁷ Williams (1986: 1) notes that the role and significance of Lusaka as the first planned capital city of Africa has been strategically ignored by most researchers.

In terms of built environment, Lusaka has stratified residential areas, with differentials in the quality of infrastructure and social amenities.⁸ The stratification of residential areas is determined by the income of the people. With regards to the settlement pattern in Lusaka, Mulenga (2006) points out that for those people who could not afford to live in designated low-income areas, such as Chibolya and Kanyama, the option they had was to reside in unauthorised self-help housing areas, which generally emerged on privately owned agricultural land.

Lusaka's economy is diverse, growing from a few services that were provided for commercial farmers to the provision of higher services, which include financial, technical, construction and manufacturing. Besides these activities, Lusaka also provides administrative services for the whole country. The following is a summary of the economic activities of the Lusaka labour force: agriculture, forestry, mining, quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas and water, construction, commerce and finance, transport and communication, administration and the domestic sector (Wood *et al.* 1976:175; Mwanza 1979:29; Central Statistical Office 1997:87; Mulenga 2006:5).

The following table provides a summary of the historical activities and development of Lusaka.

⁸ The stratification of the built environment was inherited from the colonial set up, which had European residential areas and African residential areas divided into three classes (Collins, 1986: 102).

Table 2.1 Summary of historical activities and development of Lusaka (Collins, 1986; Williams 1986; Mkandawire *et al.* 2006)

Year	Event
1905	Chilanga District formed and railway line reaches Lusaka from the south
1908	The Dutch Reformed Church was established on one of Marrapodi's farms ⁹
1912	Demarcation of the first nine stands in Lusaka
1913	The name Lusaka was gazetted and the Village Management Board was established.
1914	Lusaaka's village moved away from the European settlement and for a while was located on what is today Parliament (Manda) Hill
1929	Lusaka becomes a township
1931	The <i>Boma</i> ¹⁰ moves from Chilanga to Lusaka
1935	The capital moves from Livingstone to Lusaka
1954	Formation of the Municipal Board gazetted Construction of the High Court building
1960	City status conferred on Lusaka and the ceremonial city Centre moved into the new Civic Centre
1962	The Anglican Cathedral was built
1965	Significant eastward expansion of the city, led by the National Assembly building, Mulungushi Conference Centre, University of Zambia (UNZA) and the Natural Resources Development College (NRDC)
1970	Great Lusaka created by the extension of the boundary from 93 square kilometres (36 square miles) to 360 square kilometres (139 square miles)
1973	Lusaka celebrates diamond Jubilee (1913 to 1973)
1976	Lusaka and environs become Zambia's ninth province

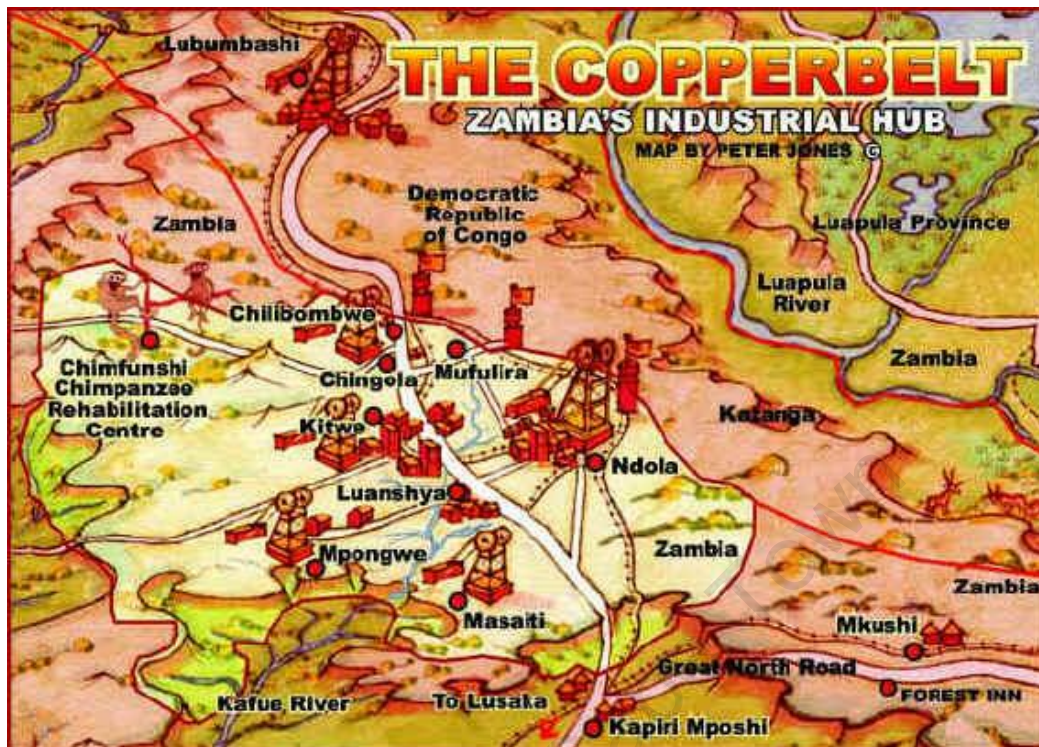
2.2.2 The Copperbelt

With an area approximately 120 kilometres by 40 kilometres, the Copperbelt Province of Zambia lies on a level plateau, which is about 4 000 feet above sea level and 13° south of the Equator. Its vegetation includes stunted trees and large ant hills. The area records a very high rainfall average as it is within the Zambia/Zaire watershed (Powdermaker 1962; <Zamcom>). The Copperbelt province is constituted of four towns (Chililabombwe, Chingola, Kalulushi and Luanshya) and three cities (Kitwe, Mufulira and Ndola), with Ndola as the administrative headquarters.

⁹ 'Farm' was the usual word for a large land holding. It does not imply that the land was ever farmed in the agricultural sense (Collins 1986:134).

¹⁰ Term used in colonial times to denote administrative posts (Gardiner, 1970:1).

Figure 2.4 Map of the Copperbelt <Zamcom-Copperbelt>



2.2.3 Kitwe

Kitwe, popularly known as the hub of the Copperbelt, was founded in 1936. It lies 64 kilometres west of Ndola and owes its existence to copper mining, as it was established after the opening of mine shafts at Mindolo and Nkana (<Kitwe>; <Zamcom-Kitwe>). Although copper mining is the main economic activity in the city, there are other secondary industries to supplement copper mining, which include: food and textile manufacturing, metal fabrication, agriculture, forestry. According to the 2000 Central Statistical Office (CSO) report, the population of Kitwe was 376 124 with an average annual growth rate of 0.8° (CSO, 2000). The indigenous inhabitants of Kitwe are the Lamba people, under chief Nkana, who are part of the Bemba-speaking people. However, because of labour migrations from the rural to urban centres, the Lamba are not the only people found in Kitwe. Nearly all the ethnic groups found in Zambia are represented here, although the Bemba form the largest group. This is the case because of the close proximity of Kitwe to Luapula and the Northern provinces (Epstein 1956:26–27). The consequence of the dominant Bemba-speaking people population has been that Bemba is the lingua franca of Kitwe and indeed the Copperbelt (Kaplan 1979; Macpherson 1981; Rasing 1995).

Figure 2.5 Map of Kitwe <Zamcom-Kitwe>



Like any other Copperbelt town, Kitwe inherited separate residential areas from the colonial system. Prevalent in the colonial era were two sections, municipal and mining, with each showing European and ‘African’ sections (Epstein 1958:2; Powdermaker 1962). A third section, government, was added after independence. Just as in the case of Lusaka, the different sections have been stratified according to economic status, with the middle class occupying the formerly European section, while the working class take up the African sections and also settle in unauthorised self-help areas in the periphery of the city. Powdermaker (1962:7) observes that the former African sections had ‘matchbox’ houses, with a public latrine and bath house, and a stone washing stand with running water where women gathered to do the family washing. Powdermaker (1962) further noted amenities such as a sports stadium, swimming pool and main welfare centre with a library, tea shop and radio loudspeaker. Other uses for the welfare centre included Saturday night dances and other club activities. An open-air movie theatre where westerns, serials and topical films were shown was also provided for township residents (Epstein 1956:10).

Besides the social amenities that have been named above, there were beer halls, hospitals and clinics, schools and churches of many denominations (especially Christian and Muslim). Furthermore, induction centres for miners and adult evening classes were provided. All these features still exist in a typical mining township, though most of them have been modified to suit the current needs of the communities that use them. Facilities and amenities on the municipal locations were inferior in quality, limited in number and poorly maintained compared to those of the mine townships. Otherwise for the most part disparities between socio-economic classes can still be clearly seen in the way both mining and municipal sections have been marked in two grades in terms of quality and type of buildings (built environment) provided for the people.

Besides Lusaka, Kitwe is the only other city that has a national broadcasting studio (Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation) (Kangwa 2006). Kangwa (2006) noted that three quarters of the programmes broadcast from the Kitwe studio are radio programmes, while a small part of it is dedicated to television programmes, which are aired in collaboration with the Lusaka studio. Kitwe is not a tourist town, but it has some pleasant scenery, with one major river (Kafue), which provides for fishing activities. Furthermore, the Mindolo and Lakeview dams offer recreational facilities for people from all over the Copperbelt. Nevertheless, it is possible to visit the mines and take a tour down one of the shafts <Kitwe>.

2.3 Musical arts in Zambia

For the purpose of this research, the development of musical arts (music, dance and drama) in Zambia is discussed with reference to the country's historic periods: the pre-colonial era (1800–1890), the colonial era (1890–1963) and the post-independence era (1965 to date). This chapter provides a bird's eye view of the general state of the musical arts, including the indigenous dances based on Brelsford's classification of Zambian dances, while indigenous musical instruments are categorised on the basis of their acoustic classifications.¹¹ The focus of this chapter is on music and dance, with only short sections on dramatisations.

It is necessary to provide a general background of the musical arts over Zambia's three periods before discussing the periods individually. Discussions of the three periods are somewhat artificial as some indigenous trends continue into the present day, while others

¹¹ The classifications for indigenous dances and musical instruments refer to the musical arts from the pre-colonial times to date, although nowadays there have been marked changes and developments, and even the extinction of some of the songs, dances and musical instruments.

have been discarded. An overview of the annual ceremonies will provide examples of such overlapping, continuity and discarding.

During the pre-colonial era ethnic societies existed in a more or less homogeneous setting, sharing the same ethnic and linguistic groupings. The musical arts were organised according to the social events that took place in the community (Jones 1940; Lunsonga 1963; Kubik 1964, 1994; Mensah 1971; Blacking 1973; Nketia 1974; Mapoma 1980; Agawu 2003). Social gatherings with public performances included work parties, when members of a community came together to clear a field for gardening, hunting parties, rites of passage, celebrating the occasion of a new crop (harvest festivals), enjoyment of leisure and recreational activities, coronation of a chief, divination and religious worship, changes in seasons, and death (Mapoma 2006). Barz (2004:118) indicates that:

[t]raditional songs and dances are basically a means of communicating what people's culture is all about, what they believe in their society, what their customs are all about, in an indigenous way.

The musical arts play a vital role in more than 20 annual indigenous ceremonies throughout Zambia, manifesting customs, social life, rituals, oral history, material and spiritual culture. According to Muwowo (2005), these ceremonies provide a valuable insight into an indigenous culture that has been passed down for generations. However, over the years the decline of indigenous customs and culture, which had been brought about by the infiltration of the European and Western ways, and the melting pot of various ethnic groups living in the more heterogeneous urban areas, adversely affected many annual indigenous ceremonies to such an extent that some of them were discontinued (Lumbwe 2004:208). Recently there has been a realisation of the value of cultural traditions and conscious efforts are being made to revive and preserve them. Chasaya (2008) indicates that the government and several non-governmental organisations have shown a keen interest in supporting such efforts, and have been doing everything possible to ensure the revival of those ceremonies that have been neglected and the continuity of those that still exist. Former President Chiluba had a personal interest in the revival of indigenous ceremonies and strongly supported the elevation of the chiefs of the various ethnic groups.

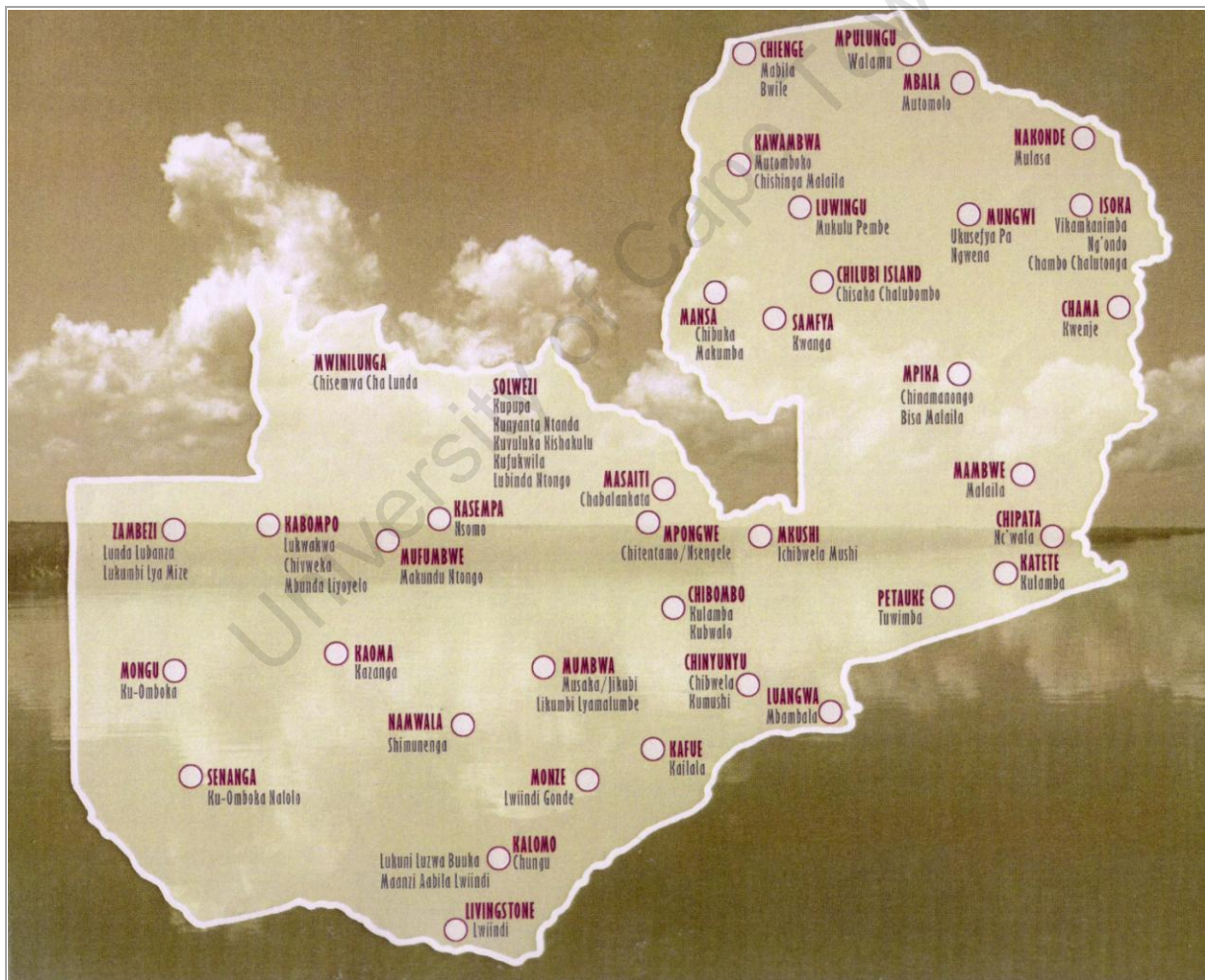
The major annual indigenous ceremonies include:

Table 2.2 The main annual indigenous ceremonies, ethnic groups and their chiefs

Ceremony	Ethnic group	Chief
<i>Ukusefya pa Ng'wena</i>	<i>Bemba</i>	<i>Chitimukulu</i>
<i>Umutomboko</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Mwata Kazembe</i>
<i>Nwala</i>	<i>Ngoni</i>	<i>Mpezeni</i>
<i>Lunda Lubanza</i>	<i>Lunda</i>	<i>Ishindi</i>
<i>Lwiindi</i>	<i>Toka Leya</i>	<i>Mukuni</i>
<i>Chabalankata</i>	<i>Lamba</i>	<i>Mushili</i>
<i>Kuomboka</i>	<i>Lozi</i>	<i>Litunga</i>

At present 65 indigenous ceremonies take place in Zambia every year. The following map indicates some of the annual indigenous ceremonies:

Figure 2.6 Map of Zambia showing some of the indigenous ceremonies and where they are performed (Kapwepwe 2008a: inside cover)



The discussion of the musical arts in the pre-colonial era is structured in three sections: (a) Zambian indigenous dances; (b) Zambian indigenous musical instruments; and (c) Zambian indigenous dramatisation. This division is relevant only to the pre-colonial era as it provides

the reader with background information for understanding of the colonial era and post-independence era. In the latter two eras the musical arts are discussed as a whole.

2.3.1 Pre-colonial era (1800–1890)

2.3.1a Zambian indigenous dances

Brelsford's categorisation of dances (Brelsford 1948) is useful in that: (a) it is broad based and covers almost all the main regions of the country; (b) it provides a description of the music as it was performed in the life cycle of the indigenous people of Zambia; (c) it includes, among other things, the old instruments that have not been commonly used in some parts of the country; and (d) it shows that in Zambian indigenous dance is always accompanied by music. Examples of the dances according to Brelsford's classification of indigenous Zambian dances appear in Appendix C.

As far as dance styles are concerned, Chipokolo (1988) found that in many Zambian communities there was a combination of different approaches such as dancing to music (a combination of instruments and singing) and singing only. With regards to dancing, Mensah (1971:12) adds that the use of space involved general floor patterns and space directions including circular and horse-shoe shapes, and straight-line formations. Brelsford (1948:3) and Chanda (1989) further point out that some dances include two lines, dancing in pairs and solo dancing. Dancing involves more than formations, and includes various postures and movements.

The *Kalela* of the [Ngumbo] in the Luapula province, the *Nyau* and *Moye's* dance of the *Soli chisungu* (puberty rite) ceremony depict forward bent torso, flexed knees, various positions of the pelvis and arched spine in the course of their various movements. (Mensah 1971:13)

On the dance movements and postures Brelsford (1948) notes that also common to Zambian dances are leaps, lunges and strides. Brelsford (1948:4) further points out that Zambian dances could be categorised as 'dance in harmony with the body' (harmonious dance) and 'dance out of harmony with the body' (inharmonious dance). On the one hand, harmonious dances reveal a delight in motor expression as the dancer is in total control of the movements of the body. On the other hand, inharmonious dances involve convulsive movements, which are performed in most cases with the dancer being unconscious of the body movements (Brelsford 1948; Chipokolo 1988). With regards to harmonious dances Brelsford states that:

The harmonious dance class is again subdivided into 'expanded' and 'close' dances [...] expanded dances are leaps, lifts, slaps, strides, skips, lunges etc. These are almost all masculine dances. The

‘close’ dance is a more suppressed feminine dance and often the body remains in one spot with only parts of it moving. The pelvis is rolled, the buttocks are wriggled, the belly is twitched and the breasts swung. (Brelsford 1948:4)

Figure 2.7 Dances in harmony with the body (Brelsford 1948:7-21)

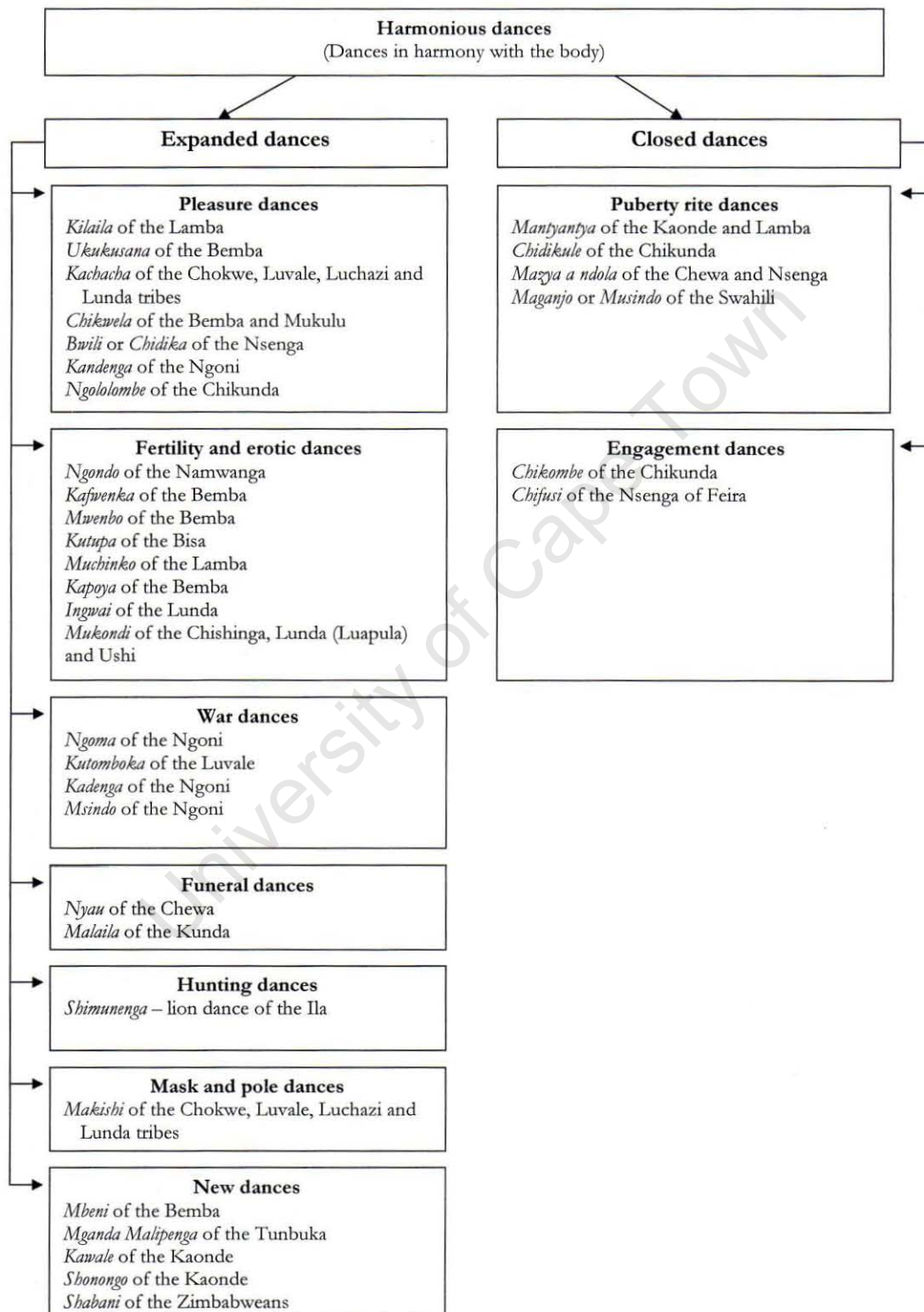
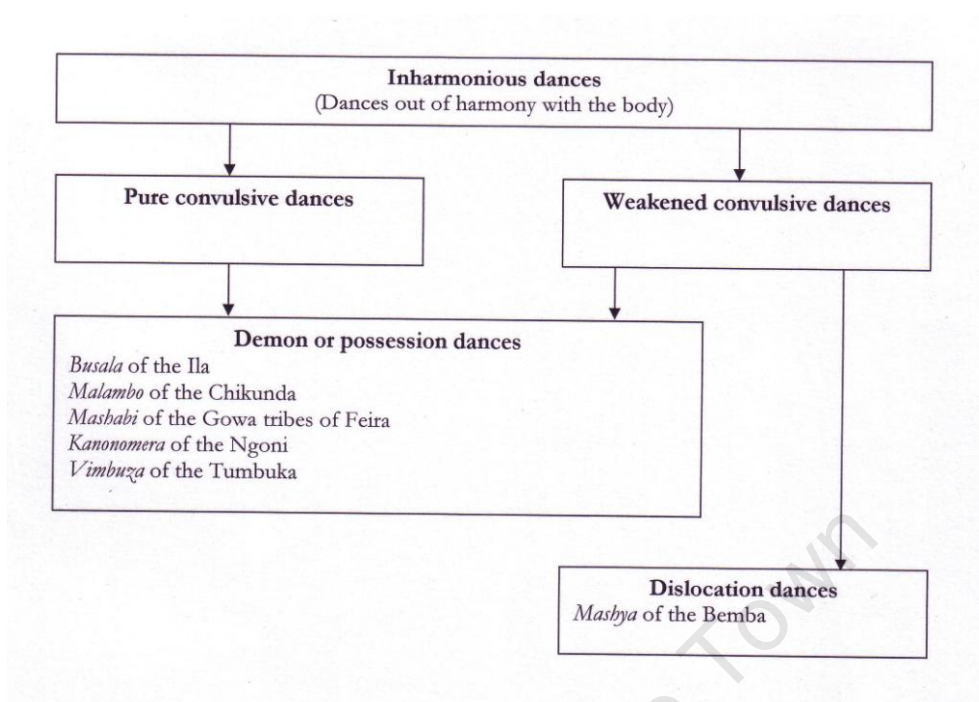


Figure 2.8 Dances out of harmony with the body (Brelsford 1948:21-24)



Within the ‘sub-class’ of expanded dances, further categories could be demarcated in order to describe what may be called ‘ordinary’ indigenous dances in which both male and female take part, and in which the movements are either circular or in straight lines.¹²

2.3.1b **Zambian indigenous musical instruments**

Generally speaking, Zambia retains an extraordinary variety of musical styles varying from the xylophone playing of the Western Province, the drum chimes of the North-Western Province, the ‘rapid text utterances’ and ‘yodelling’ in song among cultures of the Northern, Southern and North-Western Provinces, to the hocket singing in the Eastern Province (Mensah 1971; Mapoma 2006; Muwowo 1987). Concerning the singing among different ethnic groups in Zambia, Jones (1940:7) found that singing involved songs sung by soloists with chorus (in antiphony), songs sung in unison, songs sung in multipart and songs both accompanied and unaccompanied.

A variety of musical instruments are used to accompany performances of most of the Zambian musical and dance traditions. However, for the purposes of this study only the most commonly used musical instruments have been mentioned. For the sake of clarity, examples of musical instruments have been categorised according to the four main acoustic

¹² For a detailed description of indigenous Zambian dances see Appendix C.

classifications (idiophones with the subcategories lamellophone, membranophones, chordophones and aerophones) (Von Hornbostel 1961:3-21; Nketia 1974:67–107 Stone 1998: 9-10, among others).¹³

2.3.1c **Zambian indigenous dramatisation**

In this study dramatisation¹⁴ within Bemba IKS is not dealt with separately from the wedding contexts in which they are utilised. With regards to the indigenous societies in sub-Saharan Africa, dramatisation forms a part of the songs and dances performed as part of some rituals and ceremonies. As a part of rituals and ceremonies, theatre functions as a tool to educate, inform, entertain and engage audiences on socio-cultural issues that concern them in their daily lives (Idoye 1949:v). The Bemba have continued to utilise dramatisations especially in marriage ceremonies, where they communicate *amafunde*.¹⁵ According to Ilunga:

Ku baBemba takwaba kuya kukutamba ifisela ngefi abasungu baleeta ndakayi. Ifisela fyaba pabili mumikalile yesu. Ilyo abaiche bayangala beka; ukubuta, elyo kabili nelyo abakalamba ba lesefya ifisungu nagula amenga. Kanshi muli uyu musango ifisela fibomba imilimo yakufundilamo kubakalamba, elyo kubaiche nako kwangala kabili nukulanga ifyo basambilile mukukula kwabo. [The Bemba do not go out to watch plays as is the case with the white people nowadays. Dramatisation is performed at two levels in our livelihood: when children are playing make-believe plays, and when adults are celebrating rites of passage such as initiation (*chisungu*) and wedding ceremonies. In this way dramatisation among the adults functions as a tool for educating those being initiated into adulthood, while among the children it functions as a means to demonstrate the moral lessons that the children have grasped in their daily living while at the same time being a means for playing]. (Ilunga 2002)

Mwansa elaborates on Ilunga's comment when he indicates that:

Theatre did not begin with the coming of colonialists but has always been there in the arenas, which have not been emasculated by the debilitating Western cultural influences. A number of Western writers have variously tried to show that drama and theatre are cultural attributes peculiar to the Western world. (Mwansa 1999:8)

Mwansa criticised scholars like Kirby who, according to him, did not recognise African traditional art forms such as the bushmen's games, rituals and initiation ceremonies for boys, but classified them as mere enactments. Mwansa emphasises that scholars such as Turner and Richards acknowledge indigenous dramatisation embedded in ritual and cultural ceremonies, which are performed as rites of passage (Mwansa 1999:1).¹⁶

¹³ For a detailed discussion of this classification applied to Zambian indigenous instruments see Appendix D.

¹⁴ Dramatisation in Bemba is known as *ichisela* sing. and *ifisela* pl.

¹⁵ Lit. lessons; in this study the term refers to marriage instructions.

¹⁶ Turner worked among the Ndembu, Chokwe, Lunda, Luvale and Lozi of Zambia for his study of *mukanda* (boys initiation ceremonies) and other socio-cultural issues. Richards worked among the Bemba of Northern Zambia for her study of *chisungu* (girls initiation ceremonies) (Mwansa 1999:1).

2.3.2 Colonial era (1890–1963)

Though historically this period could be subdivided into three (Mining Company Rule, Colonial Office Rule and Federation Rule), as stated in Section 2.2, the Colonial era is treated as a whole in the discussion of musical arts. The musical arts will be looked at from an urban perspective as the rural setting has already been elaborated in the previous section (pre-colonial era).

The development of urban centres around agriculture activities along the railway lines and the copper mines, which began in the early 1900s, shaped the economic and cultural destiny of the country. As pointed out earlier on, the increased demands for labour for the mines led to the men migrating to towns and being introduced to the cash economy, a weakening of indigenous ethnic ties, and the development of new social relationships, which involved the coming together of various peoples with different traditions and cultures. This development also resulted in the appearance of new musical instruments and musical cultures (Etienne 1937; Richards 1956; Blacking 1973; Chanda 1989; Graham 1992:205). Graham observes that:

During this period Zambia consisted of two distinctive societies – the white (*Muzungu*)^[17] society, relaxing in expensive hotels and exclusive clubs and listening to ‘*muzungu*’ music, and the black society congregating in urban beer halls run by city and town councils [... which] revolved around Saturday evening village dances featuring local instruments and a few acoustic guitars (Graham 1992:206)

The development of social amenities for the *bazungu* settlers resulted in a few of the Zambian musicians seeking employment in hotels and night clubs. This resulted in the formation of bands such as The Big Gold Six, The Lusaka Radio Band and The Broadway Quintet (Graham 1991; Chauhan 2006). The Central African Broadcasting Services also provide entertainment for the Zambian people, though much of the time special attention was given to the production and broadcasting of programmes that were intended to satisfy the *bazungu* community (Kangwa 2006).¹⁸ The Zambian communities were subjected to Bantu Education Cinema project documentary films, which included films such as ‘Post Office Savings Bank’, ‘Food and health’, ‘Healthy babies’, ‘Improved agriculture’ and ‘Uganda Boy Scouts’. In

¹⁷ *Muzungu* is a Nyanja word meaning ‘white person’ (*muzungu* singular and *bazungu* plural). In Bemba the word meaning ‘white person’ is *musungu* (*musungu* singular and *basungu* plural). The word is commonly used in conversation and is not derogatory.

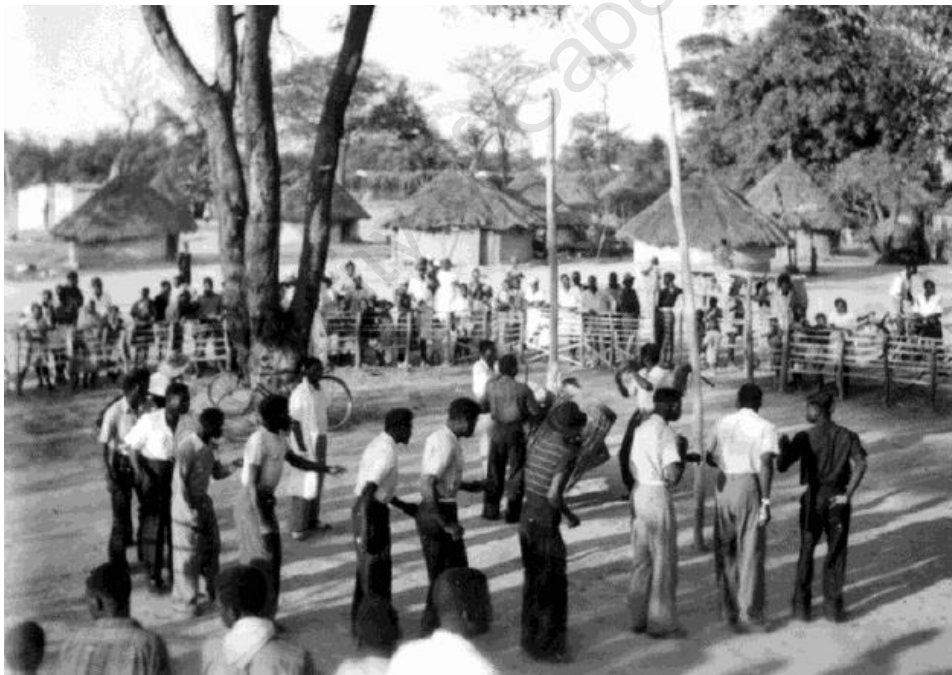
¹⁸ The music and visual programmes were imported from Europe specifically to satisfy the *muzungu* community. This music was not accessible to the Africans as they could not afford to buy the music equipment or even the records or tapes. Furthermore, even the visits of international musicians such as Louis Armstrong passed by the Africans as those concerts were exclusively for the white people.

spite of these documentaries being intended to provide useful educational resources, the African audience found them to be relatively boring (Matongo 1992). With the workers having been deprived of meaningful recreational facilities, Matongo further observes that:

The African workers created their own popular entertainment. All available open spaces were utilized for traditional games (such as *Isolo*)¹⁹, dances (such as *Sepa*, *Mbeni*, and *Kalela*) and soccer. (Matongo 1992:191)

The dances performed at such gatherings developed into popular dances that drew forms from a combination of indigenous African dances and of the routines and drills from the European military drill traditions that reflected the experiences of those African men who were enlisted for the First and Second World Wars, and also the experience of urban life (Chipokolo 1988; Matongo 1992:194). Chanda (1987) further points out that example of dances that reflected the African men's experiences during the World Wars included *Nyakasanga* and *M'ganda* (also known as *Malipenga*).²⁰

Plate 2.1 *Kalela* dance (Mitchell 1956)



¹⁹ *Isolo* is a common Zambian indigenous game known by different names. The game is played on either a flat wooden or metal board, which has hollow segments where dried round wild fruit seeds are placed (see Appendix F).

²⁰ The Tumbuka name *M'ganda* comes from the deep sound of the master drum used as accompaniment, while *Malipenga* comes from the name of the gourd horns which derived their name from the Western trumpet commonly referred to in many Zambian languages, including Bemba, as *Penga* (Pl. *Malipenga* in Tumbuka, *Mapenga* in Bemba).

During the 1950s and the Federation period, the dances ceased being performed purely for entertainment, but also included social commentaries that reflected the African's displeasure with white colonial domination and denial of basic human rights (Matongo 1992). Besides *Nyakasanga* and *M'ganda* dances, *Kalela* and *Mbeni*, also based on a combination of African dance steps and the Western military drills, emerged and became very popular among the Africans in the townships. *Kalela* originated from Northern Zambia from Chishi Island on Lake Bangweulu. Initiated around 1930 by a man called Kalulu, of the Ngumbo ethnic group, *Kalela* was exported to the Copperbelt after the Second World War by some Ngumbo migrant labourers. On the Copperbelt *Kalela* was first introduced to the Roan Antelope Mine (now called Luanshya). *Kalela* first appeared in 1945 (Mitchell 1956). In 1939 Kalulu was enlisted in the army, but still managed to play his drums and continued with *Kalela* dance while he was in the armed forces. Upon his discharge from the army in 1946, he renamed the dance *Luwelela*. However, the name *Luwelela* was not used when the dance was introduced to the Copperbelt; instead the initial name *Kalela* was retained.²¹

Although *Kalela* was the most popular dance on the Copperbelt in the 1950s, its origin can be traced from the *Mbeni* dance. With regards to the origin of *Mbeni* Mitchell (1956:10–11) writes that the dance evolved from the *Beni* dance, which was started in Zomba, a town in Malawi, in the early 1920s. The name *Beni* was a corrupted version of the English word for 'Band', referring to 'an essential feature of a mock military band'. Mitchell further writes that *Beni* was a dance by the Yao people of Malawi, who also included it at their boys initiation ceremonies. In 1935 the *Mbeni* dance that is known in Zambia surfaced on the Copperbelt. However, records from the Russell Commission and oral history provide evidence that *Mbeni* existed before 1935, but not in Zambia. Instead, in Dar-es-Salaam the existence of *Mbeni* was recorded soon after the First World War in 1919. There is no clear record as to who exactly brought *Mbeni* to the Copperbelt and how it got to Tanzania. However, from the available evidence of migrant labour drawn from Malawi and Tanzania, and other countries neighbouring Zambia, it could be assumed that *Mbeni* came into the country via this route (see Mitchell 1956; Matongo 1992).

²¹ The exact meaning of the name *Luwelela* is not clear to the author, but from information gathered from friends from St Francis Secondary School *Kalela* dancers, during the time the author was in school, the name appears to have come from the act of *ukusowelela* (to encourage dancers by ululating).

Dances, such as *Mbeni* and *Kalela*, had the lyrics of their accompanying songs constantly changing, reflecting the changes that were taking place in the urban areas. Matongo observes that through popular dances the urban workers expressed a form of political consciousness, as reflected in one of the *Kalela* songs in which:

Chandwe Musonda, a local African National Congress leader, is called upon to tell the elders who still had the skill to start spinning bark cloth so that the Europeans could be rejected together with their Western clothes and their alien cultures. (Matongo 1992:206)

Undoubtedly, as a tool for social comment and communication *Mbeni* and *Kalela* proved to be very effective, to such an extent that the Mine Workers' Union also used the dance songs at their meetings, especially as the language used was not easy to interpret for those not familiar with the dance tradition (Matongo 1992). Mitchell (1956) and Mutonga (1992) note that during the 1935 riots in the mining townships on the Copperbelt, the government suspected *Mbeni* dancers to have played a vital role in disseminating information to the African workers through their music and dance.

What stands out as significant during this period in as far as the musical arts are concerned is that, because of the lack of meaningful entertainment for the African communities in the urban centres, they were compelled to be innovative and as a result *M'ganda*, *Nyakasanga*, *Kalela* and *Mbeni* dances emerged and became very popular. The popularity of *Nyakasanga* and *Kalela* has continued growing so that today nearly all dance groups and secondary schools in the urban centres perform them. However, *M'ganda* is only popular in the Northern and Eastern Provinces among the Tumbuka. In the author's experience and that of a few research subjects, only one group in Chingola (a town on the Copperbelt) and a group in Kasama (the provincial capital of the Northern Province also the capital of Bemba land) have still continued to perform and promote *Mbeni*. In Kasama *Mbeni* is always performed at the Bemba annual indigenous ceremony *Ukusefya pa ngwena*, which takes place near Mwinelubemba Chitimukulu.²²

It is important to give a brief overview of the utilisation of drama in contemporary Zambian society. In Lusaka (the Lusaka playhouse) and Kitwe (the Kitwe little theatre) theatres were established in the early 1900s to cater for the entertainment of the 'white settler' communities

²² Evidence of *Mbeni* being performed at the *Ukusefya pa Ngwena* ceremony was obtained from video recordings of the ceremonies of 2002, 2004 and 2005 by the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation. Mwinelubemba Chitimukulu was formerly referred to as Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, a colonial title, which has since been discarded (Chiti 2005).

that lived in these cities. Chirwa (2006) observes that dramatic societies at that time were based and organised according to the British way. Chirwa continues that the societies mainly performed classical plays written by European authors. Throughout the colonial period, and soon after Zambia's independence, theatre continued to follow the colonial style of performing foreign plays.

2.3.3 Post-independence era (1965 to date)

The period before Zambia's independence – to be precise, the beginning of the 1960s – was characterised by music being provided by the Zambia Broadcasting Service (ZBS).²³ This was primarily achieved through radio programmes. Graham, Tunkanya and Gondwe (2006:437) observe that in the early 1960s the music aired on ZBS radio was drawn from field recordings of southern central Africa. Field recordings were conducted by the then ZBS Director and musician Alick Nkhata and archivist Hugh Tracy (Graham 1992; Graham *et al.* 2006). Graham (1992) further notes that though ZBS was mandated to promote Zambian music, they mostly played Congolese rumba. Congolese rumba also dominated the entertainment houses in Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Besides Congolese rumba, East African rumba (especially from Kenya) also penetrated the country. Lufungulo (1987) observes that the main entertainment houses included hotel ballrooms for the new elite and community beer halls for the labourers (working class). Because of the tendency of the new African elite of administrators and technocrats to adopt the culture of their former British colonial masters, foreign music was highly favoured and as such musicians of the time followed suit by performing cover versions of foreign hits (Graham 1988:284; Graham 1992:205; Graham *et al.* 2006:437). Urban dwellers, despite adopting a Western lifestyle, still had close ties to their traditions, hence musicians were motivated to recreate indigenous music using Western musical instruments, which mainly included the acoustic guitar (Lufungulo 1988; Graham *et al.* 2006). Consequently, the use of the acoustic guitar and other Western musical instruments gave rise to the establishment of recording studios. DB Studios, under Peter Musungilo and Graham Skinner, was established in Lusaka, while Teal Record Company 'a subsidiary of South Africa's Gallo,'²⁴ and Zambia Music Parlour' (Graham *et al.* 2006:437) were established in Ndola on the Copperbelt. This development saw the mushrooming of musical outfits and solo

²³ At inception (in the 1940s) the broadcasting service was known as Central African Broadcasting Services (CABS), which later became Federal Broadcasting (FB) and thereafter became known as Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) until it finally became known as Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), a name which it still bears at present.

²⁴ The establishment of the Teal Record Company contributed to the flooding of the Zambian market with South African music by African artists (bubble-gum, *mbanqanga*, reggae).

artists, to the extent that throughout the 1960s to the early 1970s a musical style commonly referred to as 'Zam-rock' was developed, though the initiator of this style is not known. As Graham *et al.* (2006) observe, the songs played by most groups were mostly sung in English and also at times in local languages especially Bemba and Nyanja. The term Zam-rock referred to the music that developed from a fusion of rock 'n' roll and Zambian indigenous musics.²⁵ Like the youth in other parts of the world, especially the United States, Britain and India, the Zambian youths followed suit in the 'rapid worldwide appeal of rock 'n' roll, and other genres such as heavy metal, punk rock and pop'²⁶ (Bennett 2001:65). The radio and imported record discs played a very important role in influencing the urban dwellers, especially the youth, in terms of what sort of music they listened to and favoured. Furthermore, visits by international musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Eddie Grant and the Equals, and James Brown cultivated an interest among local musicians to emulate the music and performance styles of these international stars that visited Zambia in the 1960s.

Prominent bands that were formed in this period (1960 to early 1970s) included the Lusaka Radio Band (which later became known as The Big Gold Six Band) formed by ZBS Director and musician Alick Nkhata,²⁷ Musio-o-Tunya²⁸ and the Machine-Gunners (Chanda 1987, Malama 2001; Graham *et al.* 2006). Some musicians did not form or join bands, but instead opted to make and perform music as soloist. Zam-rock musicians of the sixties concentrated on the composition of songs based upon topical issues, especially with regards to politics and also 'protest[s] against tribal taboos on sex and relationships' (Graham *et al.* 2006:437).

²⁵ Hamm (1995:50) writes that in sociological terms, [rock] and popular music has been infiltrated by music from some [other cultures of the world] and this music has brought with it not just its sound, but in its lyrics certain attitudes towards life.

²⁶ For the youth the appeal did not only end with an interest in rock music or the other styles named here, but also in other aspects of the cultures that went with it, 'from the most superficial like clothing and hair-styles', to the extent that in Zambia Western-style fashions 'particularly styled leather jackets and spandex trousers in a variety of colours' and 'ornately cut, moussed and blow-dried hairstyles' (Weinstein 1991:43) were highly popular in the late 1960s and the 1970s.

²⁷ During the time Alick Nkhata was director of Programmes at ZBS he went round the country in rural areas recording different traditional music and then playing it on national radio. This initiative to great extent helped to promote Zambian music although the idea did not continue as he envisioned it to be when he left the establishment.

²⁸ The formation and performance style of Musio-o-Tunya band was inspired by Osibisa, a band that consisted members from several African countries. Osibisa visited Zambia in the 1970s and made an impact on the Zambian audience and musicians.

The 1970s ushered in new and more sophisticated²⁹ bands, which included The Great Witch,³⁰ Peace Band, Emmanuel Mulemena's Sound Inspectors, Mulemena Boys³¹ and solo musicians such as Violet Kafula (the most prominent among the female singers), Keith Mlevu and Rikki Ililonga. Among these musicians, the Sound Inspectors were the only group that concentrated on developing Zambian folk music, and they also introduced the idea of using a rhythm programmer instead of a drum kit for performance purposes. With regards to the musical and performative traits associated with Zam-rock in the seventies, musicians especially The Great Witch drew much influence from the 'worldwide popularity of rock' through the adoption of the music and performance styles of the Beatles, Rolling Stones and later Jethro Tull (Graham *et al.* 2006:437). What was interesting about the musical arts in this period was the way in which Zam-rock was appropriated and experienced by fans and audiences. Chanda (1987) points out that there was a growing need for live music as opposed to listening to records during ceremonies and festivities. Chanda further points out that a preference for music was greater among adolescents and people in their early twenties who were interested in addressing issues such as their low socio-economic position, unsettled family life, frustration and disaffection.

Plate 2.2 Violet Kafula (solo musician backed by Tinkles Band) (Zambia Information Services 1975)



The late 1970s saw a twist in making and performing of music in Zambia when the then President, Kenneth Kaunda, 'issued a decree that no less than ninety-five percent of music on

²⁹ The term sophisticated here refers to electrified and well-amplified western musical instruments, which included guitars, drum kit, sound amplifiers and public address systems.

³⁰ The name WITCH stands for 'We Intend To Cause Havoc'

³¹ The Mulemena Boys band was formed soon after the death of Emmanuel Mulemena hence the name Mulemena Boys.

the radio was to be of *Zambian origin*' (Graham 1988; Graham *et al.* 2006). Kaunda himself was an 'amateur guitarist'. The presidential decree was intended to revive cultural roots and at the same time create a musical identity that would be unique to Zambia (Chanda 1987; Kangwa 2006; Graham *et al.* 2006). Graham *et al.* (2006:438) note that this idea of a unique *Zambian identity* was 'something akin to Mobutu's call for *authenticité* in Zaire'. Unlike the positive results that Mobutu's '*authenticité*' yielded, Kaunda's appeal only resulted in the emergence of *Kalindula* – 'a *Zambian roots* music originally from Luapula province [...] characterised by a strong rumba bass-line and traditional drum rhythms' (Graham 1992:211). Though Graham (1992) states that *Kalindula* is an increasingly generic name for most *Zambian music*, Chanda (cited in Graham *et al.* 2006:438) argues that up until then there has been no music that could be called *Zambian*, since *Kalindula* is just one of those types from Luapula Province, and that other ethnic groups have their own music, for example, *Mantyantya* from North-Western Province. Addressing the issue of the definition of *Zambian music*, Simukonda (1999) adds that musicians like Paul Ngozi capitalised on the retention of rock-guitar solos and altering the bass-line and the reference beat, producing result which was very similar to *Chitebele* music of the Eastern Province.

Kalindula developed in two main directions: one was band performances and the other solo performers. It was typified by groups such as Amayenge, Mulemena Boys, Masasu, Serenje Kalindula Band, Shalawambe, Oliya Band, and soloartists such as Spokes Chola, Peter Kalumba Chishala,³² Alfred Chisala Kalusha Jr. and Laban Kalunga, to mention but a few. Out of the many *Kalindula* musicians, three were handicapped by blindness: Spokes Chola, Prof. PK Chishala and Laban Kalunga. The bands Amayenge, Masasu, Serenje Kalindula Band, Shalawambe and Mulemena Boys have acquired the label of 'The big five' because they developed, established and popularised *Kalindula* music.

The beginning of the 1980s saw an increasing reliance on electrified musical instruments, especially synthesisers. This development had an adverse effect on *Kalindula* music, as many musicians began experimenting with the synthesised sounds, especially the pre-recorded programmed drum rhythm patterns and percussive sounds. The emphasis of the hocketing and interlocking with guitars changed to vamping chords on the keyboards. Furthermore, the dry (light) high treble sounds of the guitars and the bass were drowned by the deep sounding

³² Fondly known to his fans as Professor PK Chishala.

synthesised bass drum beat and chords vamped on the keyboard (which was usually tuned to string sounds, hence creating a ‘drone’ sound effect in the process). The drone sound effect created by the keyboard synthesiser made *Kalindula* sound more Western than indigenous. Despite the drift from a more traditionally inclined music style, *Kalindula* still found an appeal among the elderly generation. The use of the keyboard synthesiser in *Kalindula* grew so much that bands like Shalawambe and Masasu featured the keyboard prominently. On the one hand, Zambian music was evolving, while on the other hand, the format of recording music changed from vinyl (record discs) to cassettes. Addressing the change in music recording format during the late 1980s, Chauhan (1995) states that the ease of producing cassettes encouraged many musicians to record their music. However, as Graham *et al.* (2006) pointed out, because of the economic crisis in the country at that time, the music industry was on the verge of collapse. Although music cassettes were produced, the average Zambian could not afford to purchase copies. As a result the only way out was to obtain pirated copies, which were sold very cheaply – almost free of charge. The inability of the Zambian public to purchase local music affected the operation of the recording companies to such a degree that the major record manufacturing company, Teal Records, had to close down and relocate to South Africa. Explaining the near collapse of the music industry in Zambia, Chauhan (1995) notes how HIV/AIDS has claimed the lives of pioneer musicians, leaving very few experienced enough to play *Kalindula* in its entirety. As a direct consequence of Zambian music entering into a cycle of decline, and also exacerbated by the passing of the copyright laws, new musical styles emerged. Amongst the new musical styles were the Zambian version of R&B and a fusion of *Kalindula* and rap.³³ These musical styles were typified by artists such as Ballad Zulu, Robert ‘Omart’ Mapara, Victor Kachaka, Anthony Kafunya a.k.a. Daddy Zemus and Nasty D³⁴ (Graham *et al.* 2006:440–441). Despite the development of musics such as Zam-rock and *Kalindula*, Pontiano Kaiche, who was a solo musician, and Sahara, which was a band consisting of secondary school teachers from Ndola, have drawn their inspiration from *Sinjonjo* music, a style that developed from South African *kwela* and *simanje-manje* (Chanda 1987).

³³ With regards to the fusion of rap, Bennett (2001:93–94) indicates that taking the basic tenets of the rap style, young people of differing ethnic backgrounds in cities and regions across the globe have reworked the rap text in ways that incorporate local knowledges and sensibilities, thus transforming rap into a means of accommodation that works in the context of specific localities.

³⁴ These musicians emerged from the University of Zambia (UNZA) and none of them studied music, but instead they came from the Engineering, Commerce and Law Faculties.

With musicians individualising their musical styles, there is no distinct type of music that can be called *Zambian*. As a result musicians tend to describe their music using their own names such as *Zambezi* music by Nasty D, *Zam-beat* by Ballard Zulu, *Zam-ragga* by Daddy Zemus, *Makewane* by the Sakala Brothers, to mention but a few.

Towards the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, smaller music studios were established with 'the only reputable record[ing] company [being] digital Networks International (DNI)' (Graham *et al.* 2006:441), which was owned by an accountant, Mr Rogers Sombe. The smaller studios included: Litovia, Muvi Posse,³⁵ Artmat, in Lusaka and Chauhan Music Productions in Luanshya on the Copperbelt. These studios utilised digital recording equipment, although at this stage no compact discs (CDs) could be produced, but instead the cassette was still the main recording medium in use. Furthermore, marketing remained in the hands of individual musicians. Individual musicians had difficulty in promoting their music and therefore turned to the *Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation* (ZNBC). As a result, both the Lusaka and Kitwe studios created music programmes such as *Music Box* (in Lusaka) and *Sounds Good* (in Kitwe).³⁶ The video recordings made by ZNBC were not turned into videocassettes for sale, but they were simply aired for viewing on ZNBC television. On the one hand, this development enabled the music to reach a wider audience, but on the other hand, it worked to the detriment of the musicians who could hardly sell their music cassettes.

In 1990s a new generation of musicians emerged, whose younger age and urge to experiment with other outside musical genres such as R&B, rap, reggae, ragga and hip hop meant that their interest led, firstly, to solo performances, duets or trios rather than forming bands. Secondly, most of these musicians could not play any musical instruments, but could only sing or rap.³⁷ In addressing the issue of Zambia having more and more 'musicians' who produced music and yet could hardly play any musical instruments, Sinjela (1989) points out

³⁵ Today Movie Posse has expanded and operates as broadcasting studio with music and video recording facilities.

³⁶ The information here is also based on the author's personal experience as a contributor (being a part of Chauhan Music Productions) to the establishment and promotion of *Sounds Good* programmes and encouraging musicians to participate in the programme. The author's contribution was twofold: a participating musician and an organiser of the programmes.

³⁷ According to Bennett (2001:89–90), rap is a narrative form of vocal delivery which is spoken in a rhythmic patois over a continuous 'breakbeat'. Furthermore, Keyes (1991:40) has suggested that the distinctive vocal technique employed in rapping 'can be traced from African bardic traditions to rural southern-based expressions of African Americans – toasts, tales, sermons, blues, game songs, and allied forms – all of which are recited in a chanted rhyme or poetic fashion'.

that this sad state of affairs could be attributed to the digital recording software, which became available and accessible to many young Zambians as a result of those few Zambian students who travelled abroad and purchased equipment for purposes of setting up recording studios. A similar explanation is offered by Mumpuka (1987), who adds that the surfacing of keyboard synthesisers enabled those young stars with creative minds to programme and sequence already existing pre-recorded sounds and musical styles in order to produce music without necessarily playing it in a band. Bake (1996) also suggests that a system of 'cut and mix', which is achieved by obtaining fragments of music and lyrics from a range of genres taken from original contexts and recombining them to make new pieces of music, is very common in the creation of rap and hip hop music. In the same vein Decker (1994:104) draws on the notion of rap as a post-modern discourse using modern technology, notably sampling. Simpungwe (1998) further explains that the common musical styles obtained from the synthesisers included: R&B, hip hop, techno, reggae and samba. Because of the use of pre-recorded music yielded from synthesisers, a good number of recordings sounded very similar and monotonous. This was the case chiefly because the only sections created by the musicians were the vocal parts and the lyrics. Otherwise, the instrumental parts remained unaltered or modified as they were pre-recorded in the synthesiser's memory. The ease with which it could create music paved the way for the mushrooming of recording artists especially the younger generation.³⁸ This development, as Graham *et al.* (2006) write, gave rise to the founding of a new major recording company, known as Mondo Music, at the turn of the millennium. Mondo music capitalised on the technological advancements and invested in digital recording equipment and computer software to shift from the production of cassettes to compact discs (CDs). With regards to the operation of Mondo Music, Sinjela (2006) points out that besides recording, the company has also been involved with the promotion and distribution of the music that it produces. Furthermore, musicians are signed up and managed by Mondo Music, something that has enabled its musicians to dominate the local music scene. Aside from its good performance at the local level, Graham *et al.* (2006) note that under Mondo Music musicians have also fared well internationally and have participated in the prestigious Kora Awards and Channel O Awards.

³⁸ The growing appeal of R&B, hip hop, rap and pop music among the Zambian urban youths did not end with enjoyment of the musical aspect only, but it became a means of articulating their identity. The youths found expression through the appropriation of African American 'music, films, television, programmes and clothes such as baseball caps, baggies, T shirts and jackets' (Mitchell, 1996:245).

Though up to now no Zambian has won any of the awards (Kora or Channel O), the fact that some of the musicians managed by Mondo Music got nominated as finalists goes to demonstrate that their performance is good and competes favourably with other African musicians (Sinjela 2006). Mondo Music's success could also be attributed to the following factors:

- The way in which the company conducts business; musicians are signed up on recording contracts and their music is managed and marketed by Mondo Music;
- They work hand in hand with the Zambia Copyright Society (ZAMCOPS) to ensure that musicians are paid royalties for their works used by business and entertainment houses;
- Publicity and public relations through concerts held in the major cities and towns, and also performances aired on national television (ZNBC);
- Revival of musical works produced by Zambian musicians from the late 1950s to the late 1970s. Compilations of works by various artists have been produced on CD using high-tech equipment, thus rendering the music marketable, something that has been well received by the Zambian audience.

Concerning the success of Mondo Music, Kapwepwe (2006) argues that the yardstick used for measuring success is based on recorded music, which is collected from the urban areas (towns and cities), leaving out of account the music made in the rural areas (indigenous). In other words, the music is not representative of the different ethnic music resources available in the country. The result is a Western-oriented way of assessing the performance of musicians and music, which derives from electronic media programmes (including MTV, MCM, DSTV, ZNBC and Channel O). Drawing a connection between the success of Mondo Record Company and its musicians, Bergman (1985:128) explains that one of the motivating factors lies in the 'structure' of the operation, which he describes as 'an organised system of recording, promoting, and distributing [cassettes and CDs], and an organised way of dividing royalties'. The establishment of the Sounds Arcade music outlet has also contributed to the improved promotion and distribution of Zambian music. In order to promote the sales of music, Sounds Arcade has maintained a weekly 'Top Ten' chart and a yearly 'Top Forty' chart. These charts are presented at a weekly television show which the music outlet sponsors. The results of the charts show that from their inception foreign music and artists performed well as opposed to local music and artists. However, as Chisanga (2008) observes, the trend has changed since 2005 to the extent that Zambian music and artists are competing favourably in the top ranks of the charts. The ranking on the charts is based on record of sales of the music. However, what cannot be established from the sales is what age range or generation of people buy the most music, since no survey has been conducted to ascertain

this.³⁹ From the 1980s to the 1990s there was an influx of Congolese and South African musicians into Zambia and toured the country, especially Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Most of these musicians came into the country at the invitation of the Zambia Trade Fare Society and Lusaka Agricultural Show Society. Among the prominent musicians that visited Zambia were:

Table 2.3 List of musicians who visited Zambia 1980–2000 (DRC, South Africa and outside Africa)

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	South Africa	Outside Africa
Franco, Tabulay, Bozi Boziana Pepe Kalle Kanda Bongoman Sam Manguana General Defao Koffi Olomide Tshala Muana Yondo Sisters Xtra Musica	Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chaka Chaka Boomshaka Itani Madima Sipho Johnson (Jambo) Ithani Madima PJ Powers Mandoza	Jimmy Cliff Shabba Ranks Oliver Chitam

Discussion of Zambian music of the 1980s cannot be complete without the inclusion of reggae music. The influx of Jamaican music records and those from other African countries such as South Africa and Ivory Coast, which flooded the record bars in the towns and cities, created an interest in reggae music especially for the urban youths. Outstanding among the Jamaican musicians were Bob Marley (Robert Nesta Marley), who visited Zimbabwe during that country's independence celebrations in 1980, and Jimmy Cliff, who visited Zambia a couple of times, the first being 1982). From other African countries Lucky Dube and Jambo (Sipho Johnson) from South Africa, and Alpha Blonde from Ivory Coast commanded a large following in the country. Though reggae music became more and more appealing to the Zambian audience, there were very few bands that concentrated on playing reggae music. The most outstanding reggae bands included Maoma Band, Burning Youth, Twelve Tribes, Imiti Ikula Empanga and Brian Chengala's Zanzi Roots. However, solo artists and other bands included reggae selections in their repertoires for performance. As with rock and pop music, reggae was blended with Zambian indigenous musics to create what came to be known as Zam-reggae. The blending of reggae with other indigenous musics did not only happen in Zambia; as Collins (1992:304) observes, reggae music drew inspiration from Africa and African musicians playing local versions of it, and so the result was a fusion that came to be known as Afro-reggae. Zam-reggae compositions by various groups and artists have mainly

³⁹ For examples of Top Forty charts presented by Sounds Arcades refer to Appendix E.

been done in local languages, English, and a mixture of English and any other local language. Sinjela (2005) notes that one of the most successful reggae outfits, Burning Youth, experimented with reggae, fusing it with Tumbuka and Nyanja tunes and texts. Though Burning Youth were not able to record many albums, their music appealed to so many people that they commanded a large following especially in Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Their music was mainly a means to express the urban youths' concerns with socio-economic and health issues.⁴⁰ Though reggae music 'made enormous inroads into local music', the dreadlocked appearance and Rastafarianism (Rasta) (Bennett 2001:81–82) that accompanied it were not well received especially by the older generation.⁴¹ But despite the reflection of Rasta culture, reggae music infiltrated the Christian Pentecostal churches.

In discussing Zambian music in its entirety, it is easy to notice that the focus among many writers and researchers has been on popular music, be it indigenous or modern. Other music such as choral (popularly known as *ama Kwaya* – Choirs) and brass band music have been neglected or sidelined. Choral music, with a heavy bias towards church hymnals, has remained popular in various Christian congregations throughout the country.⁴² The choral groups have a strong base in Western classical harmonies and structures. However, as Muwowo (2005) observes, the Catholic Church championed the idea of indigenising the music in the liturgy of the church.⁴³ Muwowo further explains that through Catechists and choir leaders, who often had an elementary training in the rudiments of Western music theory, notable contributions were made in the following ways:

- Translating ancient and modern hymn books from English to local languages – including Bemba, Nsenga, Nyanja, Tonga and Lozi;
- Compositions of new hymns in local languages with texts coming from the Bible, but the tunes obtained from indigenous songs;

⁴⁰ The use of reggae music in Zambia was rather different from what it was in other places such as Jamaica and Australia, where the music was mainly used for 'protest over land rights and issues of racism and racial exclusion' (Bennett 2001:74).

⁴¹ The dreadlocks and Rastafarianism had a negative reception by the older generation mostly because '[reggae] was portrayed by the media as something intrinsically evil that would brainwash young people and lure them away from the safety of the family home to a dark secretive world of drug taking and immoral behaviour' (Thornton 1994:183).

⁴² The popularity of Western hymns came about as a result of 'the process of Christianisation, which relied mostly on the singing of hymns from the nineteenth-century repertory'. Furthermore, 'white missionaries and educators were seen by the indigenous people as doers of good deeds' (Hamm 1995:178).

⁴³ The idea of using indigenous music styles and dancing in church was pioneered by Alice Lenshina's Lumpa Church of Chinsali, Northern Province of Zambia. However, Lenshina's teachings clashed with the government policy on worship and also Christian teachings. As a result Lumpa Church was banned, forcing its members to flee to neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo. Despite this, the Catholic Church emulated the Lumpa church and incorporated Bemba traditional dancing and singing styles into their liturgical services (Kondolo 2008).

- Inclusion of indigenous musical instruments, especially the drum in the initial stages, to accompany the singing;
- Inclusion of dance accompaniment derived from movements and routines of indigenous dances. The most commonly practised is known as *Buomba* from Bemba land.

Chajitan Lunsonga, a school teacher who worked with the anthropologist and priest A. M. Jones, has been recognised as having made a huge contribution to the development of indigenous choral music in the Catholic Church in the Northern Province, something that has even spread to the Anglican Church (Muwowo 2005). Hinfelaar (2004:234–235) writes that:

To render Catholic services more attractive and meaningful, [Archbishop] Milingo followed the example of Fr Van Rijthoven and his group of traditional teachers in the north, who introduced traditional music in the liturgy to the Bemba-speaking peoples. He found in the artistic Mr Damian Mwale, from Kaunda Square compound, an eager collaborator and together they composed the first church hymns according to Chewa tonal modalities. They found a pilot archdiocesan choir, the members of which were dressed in colourful costumes [made from *chitenge* material⁴⁴] and accompanied their music with drums and other percussion instruments.

Hinfelaar (2004:235) points out that the process of the indigenisation of the Catholic Church liturgy was done at two levels:

- The congregations situated in townships and compounds found it more attractive and appealing to celebrate the Eucharist with a more indigenous and traditional flavour of music often accompanied by indigenous musical instruments;
- the congregations in the centres of the cities and towns,⁴⁵ which incorporated a few indigenous hymns, but continued singing Gregorian chant hymns accompanied by either organ or piano.

The Anglican Church choral groups have not adopted the dance routines such as the *buomba* style of the Catholic Church, but have made full use of the drum accompaniment to their hymns and songs. To date instrumentation in the Catholic Church has even been expanded to include other instruments such as the Babatone (string bass), the Banjo and acoustic guitar. Shakers (*iminsakaila* and *ifisekese*) are also prominent in the accompaniment of songs. Among the prominent choral groups are: Malaila Choir of Mufulira, Chawama of Lusaka, etc. The Catholic and the Anglican Churches have capitalised on the blending of indigenous musical instruments and music, while the other churches such as the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML), Reformed Church of Zambia (RCZ) and the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) have only incorporated vernacular tunes and texts into their liturgical music – their singing is mostly unaccompanied, and if there is any

⁴⁴ *Chitenge* material is a locally made fabric.

⁴⁵ The congregations in the centres of the cities and towns were regarded as ‘dignified’ by the Catholic worshipers and hence the liturgy and music tended to favour all that was introduced by expatriate missionaries. The disparity in the style of worship and singing between congregations in the city centres and those in the townships and compounds is clearly visible nowadays.

accompaniment, it is done either with the piano or organ. The Watch Tower Church has gone as far as translating Western hymnal texts into vernacular.

All the choirs mentioned above are organised and belong to specific churches. However, the Heritage Singers Choir is an independent group, founded and organised by John Mwesa, a musician and educationist who has made a tremendous contribution to the development of choral music in the country, in education circles and also the promotion of indigenous music. Though the Heritage Singers have not recorded music for sale as a group, smaller groups from within the choir have travelled for performances to Europe and within the country. One of the smaller groups from the Heritage Singers, the City Prophets even went as far as recording an album for sale. Another group that stands out prominently in the choral sphere is an all-female outfit known as Amashiwi (lit. voices). The group has performed at various functions in the country and also made an appearance on the collaboration album with various local artists and Scandinavians sponsored by the British Council. The collaboration album entitled *Odi* included indigenous and neo-traditional pieces from nearly all the provinces of Zambia. Though the music was indigenous, there was an inclusion of Western musical instruments such as the electric bass guitar, acoustic guitar and the flute.

There has been a strong emphasis on secular music and church music discussion this far. Another rather small group of musicians, but one that has made a tremendous contribution to the development of Zambian music, is the brass bands. In Zambia brass band music can be categorised into three groups on the basis of the organisers and sponsors. One group falls under the Defence Forces: Zambia Army (ZA), Zambia National Service (ZNS) and Zambia Police (ZP). The Defence Force bands also have stage bands besides the main marching bands, and these groups perform a variety of cover version songs of rock, pop, reggae and *Kalindula* music. Furthermore, these groups also compose and record their music for sale. This category includes: the Green Labels for the ZNS, Air Power for the Zambia Air Force, (ZAF) and the Lilayi Band for the ZP.

The second group falls under the Ministry of Education (but organised by mission-run schools): St Francis Secondary School Band (commonly known as Malole Band from the Northern Province), St Edmunds Secondary School Band (from Southern Province) and St Jones Secondary School Band (from Western Province). 'School bands provide a direct route

for projecting music within the school[s] at large and for fulfilling a role in community service by performing at formal and public functions' (Johnson-Williams, 2006:176).

The third group falls under the churches: UCZ Boys Brigade Brass Bands from Kalulushi and Mufulira, and the Salvation Army Bands from Lusaka and Kitwe. The first brass bands to be established in the country were those of the Defence Forces (Johnson 2006:168), and then the missionaries established the school bands and congregational bands later (Taulo 1988). Among the school bands, Malole Band was the first to be established in 1960, while the other two, St Edmunds and St Jones, followed later (Lumbwe 1989). The secondary school brass bands consisted of members who were trained in Western classical music and studied music as a school subject. Besides performing as a marching band, the Malole Band also had a pop band known as the Comets, which mainly performed cover versions of rock and pop music by artists such as Jimmy Hendrix, Deep Purple, Eddie Grant and Carlos Santana, and also popular tunes from Zambian bands such as the Great Witch, The Tinkles and the Explosives (Taulo 1988).⁴⁶

Another missionary sponsored brass band, which was established in the mid 1970s, was called the Rising Stars (Hinfelaar 2004:255). Unlike Malole, St Edmunds and St Jones Bands, which were under the missionary schools, the Rising Stars were a parish band that drew its membership from the youths (boys) within Kabwata Parish of Lusaka. The group was sponsored by Fr Patrick Walsh, but managed and directed by their founder Fr Reginald Carrière of the White Fathers (Hinfelaar 2004:255). The Rising Stars were mainly a stage band and their repertoire consisted mainly of Zambian traditional selections, political or patriotic songs, religious and Zam-rock selections (Taulo 1988).

⁴⁶ Based on personal experience as a music student and brass band member at St Francis Secondary School, the researcher's notes that the programme of music offered at the school, before and during his time (1960 to 1981) focused on Western classical music. However, a few pieces of Zambian traditional music were incorporated into the band's repertoire. The emphasis on Western classical music developed a negative attitude towards Zambian traditional music and instruments among students.

Plate 2.3 The Malole Band performing at the 43rd International Eucharistic Congress in Nairobi (Kenya) (Musonda 1984)



Plate 2.4 The Rising Stars Band (performing for President Kenneth Kaunda at a concert held at the State House in Lusaka) (Zambia Information Services 1975)



Plate 2.5 The Air Power Band (Performing at a concert in Lusaka) (Zambia Information Servies 1975)



After independence, theatre houses were open to all the people of Zambia and this created interest among the indigenous people, especially those who went through Western education systems (Bemba: *abasambilila*). The idea of dramatic societies was extended into secondary schools as well. Kangwa (2007) points out that, during the early 1970s when he was in secondary school, nearly all the major schools in Lusaka and the Copperbelt had established drama clubs, usually organised by the English Departments of those schools. These drama clubs did not concentrate on performing Western plays, but drew on plays written by African authors such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe and Cyprian Ikwensi, and those written by Zambians such as Fwanyanga Mulikita, Stephen Moyo, Dickson Mwansa, Mulenga Kapwepwe, Light Musonda, Kabwe Kasoma, Chibale Kalaba, Stephen Chifunyise, Greg Lungu, Kwaleyela Ikafa (Kapwepwe 2008b). Ikafa and Kapepwe were among the few playwrights who included music in the plays.

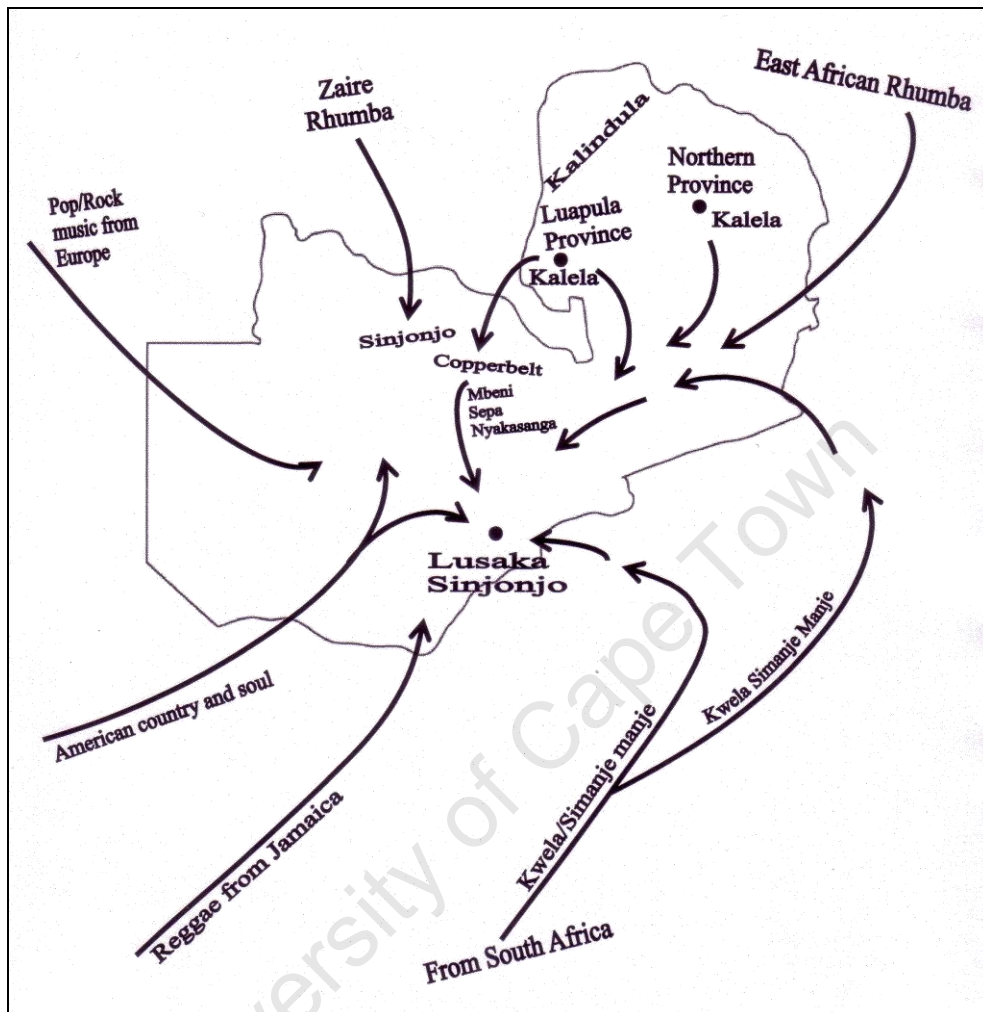
As dramatic societies and clubs developed, an organising body known as Zambia National Theatre Arts Association (ZANTAA) was formed. ZANTAA coordinated and formulated guidelines for the functioning of theatrical societies and activities in the whole country. In the late 1970s ZANTAA changed its name to National Theatre Arts Association of Zambia (NATAAZ) (Chirwa 2006). To foster the development of theatre and promote actors, NATAAZ has continued to organise annual provincial arts festivals where secondary schools and local clubs showcase their productions in the form of a competition. Winners from these

provincial festivals are afforded an opportunity to compete at the annual national arts festival. A summary of the development of Zambian theatre is provided in Mwansa (1999:187–192).

In the early 1990s the Zambia National Arts Council (ZNAC), an amalgamation of musical, theatrical and fine arts societies, was formed. ZNAC has since then taken over the running of the affairs of NATAAZ. In this period theatre houses in urban areas were overtaken by the development of radio and television drama. Under Zambia National Broadcasting Services (ZBS) and later Zambia National Broadcasting corporation (ZNBC), drama was broadcast through the programme *Play for today*, which later changed to become *Play circle* (Kondolo 2007). The recordings for the TV programmes were drawn mainly from performances by the Zambia National Service-sponsored theatre club ZANASE, and also Patrick Magoro Theatre, Chikwakwa, Evelyn Hone College, among others. Though *Play circle* performances were performed by local Zambian drama groups, the plays were all in English language and based mostly on contemporary urban life. Although the focus was not on producing musical plays, when depicting scenes from indigenous rites of passage such as child birth, initiation, wedding ceremonies and death, relevant music formed part of the production most of time. When Kangwa was director of programmes at ZNBC, indigenous music theatre was deliberately included on national TV (Kangwa 2006).

Radio drama developed simultaneously with television drama. One of the most popular radio drama programme was and still is *Ifyabukaya*, performed in Bemba. *Ifyabukaya* was first produced and aired from the ZNBC Kitwe studios, but currently all the work is done at the Lusaka studios. According to Kapambwe (2008), radio drama is not only produced in Bemba, but in the other main Zambian languages including Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde. According to Kangwa (2006), this development was in line with ZNBC's policy of promoting indigenous performing arts. The same set up of drama performed in local languages on radio has been adopted for TV and these programmes include: *Chintobentobe* (Bemba), *Kiswapako* (Kaonde), *Mutena hikulembalemba* (Lunda), *Nsagu mu Luvale* (Luvale), *Kantunya kamusabata* (Tonga) and *Nako ya silozi* (Lozi).

Figure 2.9 Map of Zambia (External influences on musical arts in Zambia)



2.4 Summary

The focus of this chapter can be divided into three main areas:

- The geographical location of Zambia and the study area Lusaka and Kitwe. Furthermore, the physical outline of Lusaka and its environs have been described, showing the development of Lusaka from a mere railway siding to the capital city of the country and later into one of the major provinces;
- The historical background of Zambia in general, Lusaka and Kitwe forms part of the overview of this study and hence it has been included at this stage as a means to provide an insight into the social, economic, political and cultural developments that have taken place over the period of study, which has been demarcated as follows – pre-colonial era, colonial era (which has been divided into two: the mining company rule⁴⁷ and the British government rule) and the post-independence era;

⁴⁷ The mining company that was in charge of governing the country was the British South African Company (BSA Co) under Cecil John Rhodes.

- The musical arts (singing, dancing and dramatisation) activities in the country have been outlined according to what prevailed in the pre-colonial era, the colonial era and the post-independence era to date.

With regards to the development of the musical arts in Lusaka, what stands out as significant is that the creation of towns and cities and other social factors, such as the introduction of hut taxes, which resulted in the rural-urban drift of migrant labourers, gave rise to a new social lifestyle and exposed rural Africans to Western social amenities such as the radio, records, sports, dancing clubs and beer gardens (taverns). Besides these social and recreational factors, the development of Western education in the form of schools and the introduction of Christian churches and values created a dichotomy between the rural areas and the urban areas of Zambia. This is seen in the long-term effect of the break in kinship ties among the urban emigrants (*amachona*)⁴⁸ and their rural counterparts. As far as the external and internal influences on the musical arts are concerned, the introduction of Western musical instruments and flooding the market with record discs, cassettes and compact discs (from Europe, America and other parts of Africa, especially the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Africa, Kenya, Cameroon and Nigeria) have resulted in the development of contemporary music forms such as *kalindula*, *sinjonjo* and hybrid varieties of rhumba, hip hop, R&B, ragga, reggae, rock and pop music.

The mushrooming of varieties of hybrid music has overtaken the popularity of indigenous styles, both for audiences in the rural areas and in the cities especially, to such an extent that the prominence of these contemporary musics has infiltrated the Bemba marriage ceremonies, especially wedding ceremonies popularly known as the 'White wedding'. The next chapter deals with the socio-cultural environment of indigenous Bemba wedding ceremonies as well as the 'White wedding' in contemporary Zambia.

⁴⁸ *Amachona* (Sin. *Umuchona*) is a Bemba term people who have left their rural homes and settled in the city with no intention of ever going back.

Chapter Three

Life cycle ceremonies indigenous to the Bemba (1800-1890)

3.1. Introduction

The Bemba, who are matrilineal and matrilocal, moved from a place that they called ‘Kola’, today known as north-eastern Angola, into baLubaland (Luba land), which is commonly referred to as the Luba-Lunda Kingdom under the rule of Mukulumpe and Mwatiyambo respectively. From the Luba-Lunda Kingdom the Bemba moved through north-western Zambia to the Kingdom of Mwase (Nsenga King) in the east until they reached the present-day Northern Province of Zambia. For a detailed account of the historical background of the Bemba see Lumbwe (2004:1–63). Lumbwe also provides detailed information on the belief systems, customs and political structures of the Bemba (Lumbwe 2004).

Building on and adding to the study by Lumbwe (2004),¹ this chapter looks at the socio-cultural background of the Bemba people. It discusses the Bemba indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) of the life cycle of a person and provides an outline of Bemba indigenous marital ceremonies (*ubwinga*)² during the pre-colonial era. The musical arts associated with *ubwinga* are not discussed in depth in this chapter, but receive detailed attention in Chapter Six. Although the socio-cultural background and musical arts belong together, it is necessary to split the discussion for analytical purposes, even though such a split is artificial.

3.2 Life cycle of the Bemba people

Kasonde (1953), Kambole (1980) and Kapwepwe (1994) point out that in the life cycle of a Bemba person, learning or the acquisition of knowledge never comes to an end until a person dies. These researchers further outline the process of acquisition of indigenous knowledge as covering five stages of a person’s life cycle:

¹ Although the researcher’s 2004 study dealt with indigenous marriage music of the Bemba, the current study not only builds on previous findings, but adds a considerable amount of information to this field. In the 2004 study the focus was on the role of music and did not include dance and dramatisation, the other components of the musical arts.

² In order to differentiate the wedding ceremonies of the pre-colonial and post independence periods, the word *ubwinga* will be used to denote wedding ceremonies performed in the pre-colonial times, while ‘white wedding’ or simply ‘wedding’ (as it is commonly referred to in Lusaka and the Copperbelt) will be used for weddings performed in the post-independence period.

Table 3.1 Stages of the indigenous Bemba life-cycle (Kasonde 1953; Kambole 1980; Kapwepwe 1994)

1. <i>Ukukusha umwana</i> (Raising and nurturing a child)	(a) <i>Ukupaapa umwana</i> (Child birth) (b) <i>Ukwinika umwana ishina</i> (Naming of the child ceremony) (c) <i>Ukwinika umwana ishina</i> (Naming of the child ceremony) (d) <i>Umulilo wamwana</i> (The child's fire ceremony) (e) <i>Ukukusha umwana</i> (Raising a child ceremony) (f) <i>Ukufwika umwana</i> (Clothing the child ceremony) (g) <i>Ukubuta ne fisela</i> (Children's make-believe plays and games)
2. <i>Imikalile</i> (Daily livelihood)	(a) <i>Insaka</i> (Gathering for males) (b) <i>Ifibwanse</i> (Gathering for females) (c) Selected activities of <i>insaka</i> and <i>ifibwanse</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Inshimi</i> (Stories with songs)³ • <i>Imilumbe</i> (Stories without songs) • <i>Amapinda</i> (Proverbs) • <i>Insoselo</i> (Sayings and idioms) • <i>Amalango/Imishikakulo</i> and <i>Amalumbo</i> (Poems/Poems and Praise poetry)
3. <i>Ichisungu</i> (Puberty and nubility rite for girls)	(a) <i>Ukuchindila ichisungu</i> (Performing the <i>ichisungu</i> ceremonies) (b) <i>Ukulasa imbusa</i> (Sacred emblem ritual)
4. <i>Ubwinga</i> (Wedding ceremonies)	(a) <i>Imbusa</i> (Sacred emblem ritual) (b) <i>Ukwingisha</i> (Wedding ceremony – highest level of honour in marriage)
5. <i>Imfwa</i> (Death and burial rites)	(a) <i>Ukupyanyika</i> (Succession/Inheritance)

Kambole (1980) and Kapwepwe (1994) point out that the process of knowledge acquisition takes place⁴ at individual and group levels. Groups can be further subdivided into two: male adults and adolescents who participate in special gatherings known as *insaka*; and female adults, adolescents and children who participate in special gatherings known as *ifibwanse*.

³ The word *inshimi* has often been interpreted as 'story telling'. However, the Bemba use the phrase *ukushimika inshimi* when referring to 'story telling' and *inshimi* when referring to 'stories with songs' (Mushindo 1971; Kambole 2003; Kapwepwe 2006).

⁴ As discussed in Chapter Four, IKS of the Bemba changed since pre-colonial times for several reasons. Kapwepwe (1994) maintains that because of the new social environment in the urban centres of Zambia, social life also had to undergo radical change for it to play a meaningful role in people's lives. According to Kapwepwe some of the processes of adjusting to the new social life some of the Bemba IKS have change, but others have been discarded. For the purposes of this chapter the present and past tense are used to indicate that some core idea of Bemba IKS have been retained after independence, while also indicating that some practices have been discarded.

Children (initially a mixture of boys and girls, and at the teenage stage in separate gender groups) participate in make-believe plays and games (*ukubuta ne fisela*).

The different stages of a Bemba person's life cycle indicated in the table above are discussed below.

3.2.1 *Ukukusha umwana* (Raising/Nurturing a child)

In the Bemba sense, raising or nurturing a child begins from the time a woman conceives (*ukwimita*), which is marked by the cessation of *chisungu* (menstruation). Mukolongo (1999) points out that a pregnancy is treated with special care; certain prohibitions relating to pregnant women are imposed because of beliefs similar to that of the 'evil eye'. According to Mukolongo, it is common practice in Bemba society to give special herbal medicines (*umuti*) to a pregnant woman to ward off misfortune or evil spirits (*imipashi iyibi*).⁵ In some cases the intervention of *inganga* (diviner) who performs *ukubuka* (incantations) is sought to ensure that the pregnant woman carries her pregnancy safely to term until she delivers her child. These precautions are taken to avoid miscarriages, abnormalities or complications at birth (Lumbwe 2004:11–12). Mutale (2006) notes that until the ritual of *ukusonta ifumo* (pointing at a pregnancy)⁶ has been performed, a pregnancy should not be mentioned in public.

The process of raising or nurturing a child includes the following stages that are accompanied by the performance of special ceremonies: *ukupaapa umwana* (child birth), *ukwinika umwana ishina* (naming the child), *umulilo wa mwana* (the child's fire), *ukukusha umwana* (raising a child),⁷ *ukufwika umwana* (clothing the child), and *ukubuta ne fisela* (children's make-believe plays and games). Each of these stages is briefly discussed.

3.2.1a *Ukupaapa umwana* (Child birth)

Childbirth is can literally translated as *ukufyala umwana*. However, because of the respect given to the act of giving and to the women who endure it, the more appropriate term is *ukupaapa*, which literally means 'to carry something on one's back' (Etienne 1937:4–21;

⁵ The word *umupashi* means spirit; *imipashi* is the plural form.

⁶ The *Ukusonta ifumo* ritual is usually performed by the pregnant woman's maternal aunt. Here the aunt would collect appropriate herbal medicines, which she would chew early in the morning on a selected day. While the mixture is still in her mouth the aunt would then go and wake up her pregnant niece and then spit the mixture on her face and pronounce the following words: *Wakula nomba, ulinefumo kabili uleendafye umutende mumaboko yamipashi yesu* (You have grown up now that you are pregnant, and may the spirits of our ancestors keep and guide you safely) (Chinyanta M, 2002).

⁷ *Ukukusha umwana* (raising a child) in this case refers to a particular ceremony and not the process of raising or nurturing a child.

Labrecque 1947:57–65; Lumbwe 2004:12–13). There are many rites and ceremonies connected with childbirth because of the belief that complications at birth would ‘pollute’ the village. When pregnancy has run its full course, the woman experiences labour pains (*akomwa ne fumo*).

Under normal circumstances the birth took place in the village itself, either in the family hut or in the hut of the woman’s mother. There were, however, some exceptions, when the delivery took place elsewhere, for example, the delivery of the first-born of a family always took place outside the village. Other exceptions occurred when the baby was expected to be *akapopo* (still born), or when the village was the residence of a chief. In the first two cases the reason for moving the birth to outside the village was to avoid ‘pollution’ of the whole village. When the village was the residence of a chief, an abnormal birth would contaminate *babanye* (relics of great chiefs honoured in the residence of a princess of royal blood). Should *babanye* be contaminated, the ancestral spirits would suffer pain from the most dreadful calamities. People feared that the village might be seized with a mysterious ailment that had symptoms such as sharp pains in the joints, which simulated a condition similar to arthritis or facial paralysis. There were other abnormal conditions and accidents at birth that the Bemba avoided as far as possible, for example, *inchila* (the mother dies in labour before the birth of the child); *inchentu* (the mother dies of a haemorrhage or any other cause during pregnancy); *ukufyala umucha* (birth of a premature baby); *ukufyala bampundu* (birth of twins);⁸ and *ichinkula* (a child whose first teeth appear on the lower jaw)⁹ (see Etienne 1937:4–21; Labrecque 1947:57–65; Lumbwe 2004:12–18).

3.2.1b Ukwinika umwana ishina (Naming the child)

In the early days the *ukwinika umwana ishina* ceremony was performed a day after the child was born. In current times this practice has since changed to a couple of days later, even a week to a week and a half, depending upon the preference of the parents of the child. According to Kapwepwe (2006), this change in practice could be attributed to the social changes in the country, which can be attributed to urbanisation and the mixing of the Bemba with other ethnic groups in and outside Zambia. Ilunga (2002) furthermore points out

⁸ Giving birth to twins was not considered to be normal; it was unusual. However, giving birth to twins was not associated with disastrous consequences, but was met with joy and honour. The father and mother of the twins would henceforth be known as *shimpundu* and *nampundu* respectively (Kambole 1980:124–131; Lumbwe 2004:12–15). *Mpundu* is the singular, while *bampundu* is the plural.

⁹ In the early days such a child was thrown into the river and left to drown. This was the case as it was believed that it would bring bad luck (*ishamo*) to the family and indeed the whole village. However, this practice has since been discarded.

that since families have been separated and living in different places, family members often have to travel long distances to attend ceremonies. This was not the case in indigenous times when families lived in close proximity with each other in their villages.

The *Ukwinika umwana ishina* ceremony involves performance of rituals and celebrations that involve the drinking of beer, singing and dancing. Here *mfunkutu* (wedding) songs and dances also play a prominent role. Besides playing a vital role in *ukusekelela umwana* (welcoming the baby), the musical arts reinforce marriage instructions on how to look after a child. During the ceremony the grandmother (*nakulu*) or paternal aunt (*nasenge*) proceeds with the invocation of *imipashi* (ancestral spirits), a ritual known as *ukubuka* (Etienne 1937:4-21; Labrecque 1947: 57–65; Kambole 1980:1–14; Lumbwe 2004:12–18). According to Fulanshi (2003), during the late 1800s, the *inganga* (diviner)¹⁰ was responsible for the invocation of ancestral spirits. *Inganga* performed the ritual of *ukubuka* (incantations) based on several names that the family suggested to him. Fulanshi points out that, for *inganga* to come up with a suitable name, he laid his tools, *ifisoko* (medicines) and *ifishimba* or *inkomba* (charms) on the ground and repeated all the names that were suggested to him. During the process of *ukubuka*, *inganga* paid special attention to *ifisoko* and *ifishimba*; when they moved and formed a certain pattern he repeated that name several times for everyone in attendance to hear. This gesture indicated that the name was given to the child and that the family had found a suitable ancestral spirit that would reside in the child's soul and protect it from any danger.¹¹ The name given to the child at the naming ceremony is known as *ishina lya mutoto* (the name of the navel). In cases where a child is born shortly after the death of a relative or a chief (while the throne was vacant), the child would be named after the deceased relative or the chief (Chinyanta 2002). According to Chinyanta, the child is named after the chief because of the chief's status while he was alive. His *umupashi* (spirit) is regarded as having a higher status than that of ordinary members of the Bemba.

After the child's name has been selected, the father of the child prepares the child's drinking vessel, a *lukombo* (gourd with a curved neck) or *akasupa* (a small calabash),¹² which he places *mwifungu* (underneath the bed) towards the head side (*kumitwe*) (Etienne 1937:4–21;

¹⁰ *Inganga* (both singular and plural for diviner).

¹¹ Among the Bemba names are taken from those of their deceased relatives without distinction of gender, because they believe that *imipashi* (ancestral spirits) have no gender (Etienne 1937:52).

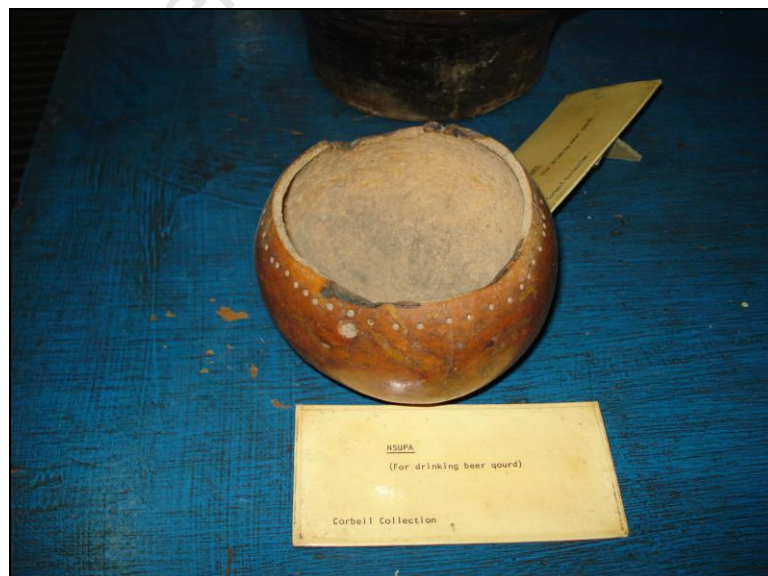
¹² *Lukombo* - singular and *inkombo* plural. *Insupa* - singular and plural. – *akasupa* small, while *insupa* also means a large calabash.

Labrecque 1947:57–65). According to Kambole (2003), from then on the child's vessel will be the residence of its protecting *umupashi*, who will ensure that the child continues to have good luck. The first offering that represents good luck, a few white beads (*ubulungu ubwa buuta*), is put in this vessel. From then onwards, every time that beer was brewed in the house, a small quantity would be poured into this vessel as libation to propitiate the *mupashi* that protects the child (Lumbwe 2004:21).¹³

Plate 3.1 *Lukombo* (Gourd with curved neck) (©Lumbwe 2006)



Plate 3.2 *Akasupa* (small calabash) (© Corbeil 1930)



¹³ The *mupashi* that protects the child is commonly referred to as *mboswa* (protector).

3.2.1c *Umulilo wa mwana* (The child's fire)

The Bemba always ensured that nursing mothers took precautionary measures against polluting or contaminating their babies (Kapwepwe 2002c). Such precautionary measures included the making of a special fire called *umulilo wamwana* for preparing the child's food or warming water for bathing it. This fire was made by rubbing two sticks together until the friction produced a fire (*ukushika umulilo*). During the 1930s, the use of matches was introduced by the White Fathers, who came to Bemba-land to do missionary work (Etienne 1937:13). According to Etienne, matches was accepted by the community, because the principle of striking a match stick against a friction pad was in line with the Bemba custom. The mother of the child ensured that she herself made *umulilo wa mwana*, fearing that should a contaminated person made the fire, touched *ishiko* (the fire hearth) or *ifwesa* (hearth stone), the child would be contaminated too (Etienne 1937:13; Labrecque 1947:62; Kambole 1980:124; Lumbwe 2004:21).

According to Bemba custom, contamination mostly came from sexual intercourse, menstruation and other causes by evil spirits. According to Mukolongo (1999), a child could be contaminated by being touched by marriageable girls who are menstruating, pregnant women, by those liable to have sexual relations with their husbands or a polygamous husband who has sexual relations with another wife. Mukolongo continues that the *ichapu* disease (continuous sneezing) is an indicator that a child has been contaminated, and this would usually result in loss of appetite and weight and eventually lead to death. However, in the early days it was common that nursing mothers felt safer to collect fire from another mother who had *umwana umubishi* (a fresh child), as it was obvious that she too was paying strict attention to the taboos (Ilunga 2002).

3.2.1d *Ukukusha umwana* (Raising a child)

The *ukukusha umwana* ceremony would take place six months after the birth of a child. Its parents would have sexual intercourse on a selected night and then the following morning they would perform the ritual where *akanweno kapalwino*¹⁴ (a little bowl used for all ritual purifications following sexual relations) is prepared by pouring in water. While still holding the bowl, both parents place it on the fire. Once the water is warm, *akanweno* is removed from the fire in the same way it was placed there. Both the husband and wife ceremonially

¹⁴ *Akanweno* is a little clay bowl while *akalongo* is a little clay pot and both could be used for the same purposes. Therefore some people use *akalongo kapalwino* as opposed to *akanweno kapalwino*. For convenience *akanweno kapalwino* will be used throughout this study.

wash their hands. Thereafter the wife would place *umushingo* (piece of cloth inherited from the relative that the child is named after) in the form of a small string worn around the waist like a belt (Lumbwe 2004:22) on the child.

According to Mutale (2003), in the case of a girl, *umushingo* would be replaced by a small piece of cloth to cover her pubes. Mutale continues that *umushingo* and two small sticks about one and a half centimetres long and half a centimetre in diameter (*impimpi*) would be placed in the ritual water. According to Chinkumwa (1997), *impimpi* come from the roots of *mulunguti* and *bungano* trees; both these trees have a hard wood whose toughness is expected to be transmitted to the child.¹⁵ *Akanweno* is then placed under the bed (*mwifungu*) at the head side (*kumitwe*), so that the contents can soak overnight (a process known in Bemba as *ukwabikila*). The next day both parents must remain inside the house and should spend their time looking after the child. During this day certain taboos must be observed: no breast feeding of the child, no cooking, and no making of a fire or even bringing in of firewood into the house. Relatives would bring prepared food for them to eat. Ilunga (2002) notes that the child's food would come from the mother's *nachimbusa* (midwife), who is also expected to observe certain taboos. Ilunga adds that on that night the parents should not have sexual relations. Even though the mother still takes great care, after *ukukusha umwana* was performed, the child could be breastfed with other people being present.

Plate 3.3 *Akalongo kapalwino* (a little clay pot used for all ritual purifications following sexual relations) (© Lumbwe 2006)



¹⁵ There are no reliable English translations for *mulunguti* and *bungano* trees. That is why only their purpose has been indicated.

3.2.1e *Ukufwika umwana* (Clothing the child)

In pre-colonial times the initial clothing of a child was performed with a ritual known as *ukufwika umwana*, which involved the actual putting on of *umushingo* on the child (*umushingo* sin. and *imishingo* pl. – piece of cloth inherited from the relative that the child is named after). The ritual had variations in the way it was performed, depending upon the gender of the child (Etienne 1937:14–15; Labrecque 1947:64). In the case of a boy the father would lay an axe on the floor and then hold the child while he (the father) is standing on the axe. Then he would tie the *umushingo* around the waist of the child. Using his left arm, he would pass the child to the mother who has to receive the child with the left arm as well (Lumbwe 2004:23). In the case of a girl, the mother would hold her upright on the grinding stone and tie the *umushingo* around her waist.¹⁶ Using her right arm, the mother would then pass the child to the father, who receives her with his right arm, and immediately gives her back to the mother in the same way (Mwandu 1995:15).

Ukufwika umwana is part of *ukukusha umwana* ceremony, though it would take place a few days later, but its conclusion is marked by the extinguishing of *umulilo wa mwana* (the child's fires). This ritual serves as the child's transition from *ububishi* (freshness) to *ukukaba* (being hot) (Fulanshi 2003). The state of *ukukaba* is also extended to the parents, who at this stage are allowed to have sexual intercourse, though not on a regular basis until *ukubangula umweshi* (the feast of the new moon). According to Ilunga (2002), it is customary that after the ceremonies within *ukukusha umwana* have been concluded, the father of the child would show his appreciation to his wife's *nachimbusa* for her assistance by presenting her with white beads (*ubulungu ubwabuta*), a basket of millet, maize and a live chicken. To present the white beads, the father of the child would flash them in *nachimbusa's* face, to prevent her from becoming blind, which may happen if this precaution is not taken.

3.2.1f *Ukubuta ne ifisela/ifyangalo* (Children's make-believe plays and games)

Once children become less dependent on their mothers, they often spend time on their own playing different games which included: (a) *ifisela/ifyangalo* (singing and dancing games) and

¹⁶ The *ukukusha umwana* ceremony should not be confused with the *ukufwika umwana* ceremony.

(b) *ukubuta*¹⁷ (make-believe plays). These games involve both boys and girls, but as they grow older some games are played according to their gender groups. Mushota (2007) asserts that through *ifisela/ifyangalo* and *ukubuta* children acquire a new vocabulary leading to improved language proficiency. According to Chapman (2002:1–3), ‘as children sing, dance [...] tell or dramatise stories they are engaged in meaningful learning’. Embedded in *ifisela/ifyangalo* are those cultural values and elements such as respect, love, peace, sharing, care for the young and old, and responsibility, to mention but a few. At a kinaesthetic level they develop motor skills and dexterity (Kambole 1980). *Ifisela/ifyangalo* and *ukubuta* do not happen by accident, but instead require some form of preparation and organisation, thereby facilitating acquisition of organisational and leadership skills, knowledge sharing, communalism and group solidarity. When children participate in *ifisela/ifyangalo* of different kinds, the purpose is not to teach the child music, but in essence the performances bear all that is necessary for music-making as they involve singers, dancers and instrumentalists such as drummers (Ng’andu, 1999:23). With reference to the Venda, Blacking (1967:31) indicated that ‘[k]nowledge of children’s songs is a social necessity for any child who wishes to be an accepted member of his own group, and hence a potential member of adult society’. Blacking’s statement is also true for Bemba children as their taking part in *ifisela/ifyangalo* enhances ‘their feeling of self-esteem [which] is a part of an important code of conduct’, which Frost (1977: 33) described as *umuchinshi* (lit. respect).

From studies conducted in the early 1900s by Gouldsbury and Sheane it was evident that there were noticeable changes with regards to children’s games. One thing that could not be ascertained for some games was whether these games were *Zambian* equivalents to European games or vice versa. One such game is Diabolo, which was known as *Nsengwansengwa* among the Bemba (Gouldsbury & Sheane 1911:271). New games have also been created, while some have been modified and others have been discarded completely. Games such as *Nsengwansengwa*, *Chityatya* and *Mulambilwa* have disappeared, while games such as *Manguniya ee*, *Ntole masuku*, *Nsalensale chinkamba* have emerged. These games are mostly played in rural areas. However, in the urban areas, besides those games that are found in both

¹⁷ *Ukubuta* involves dramatisation of home scenarios. Here prominent characters include father and mother (husband and wife), children and another similar structures among neighbours. Depending upon the number of children involved, the roles and size of the group could either be small or large. *Ukubuta* involves an imitation of activities observed from the adult members of the family and the community at large. Furthermore, *ukubuta* is common to several Western and African societies. Therefore it is known by different names such as *mahumbwe* among the Shona of Zimbabwe and *montlwane* among the Sotho of South Africa and Lesotho.

rural and urban societies, other games have developed over the years to be played by both boys and girls. Games such as *Imbooko* (Hopscotch), *Inkampa/Chikampa* (Skipping game), *Wanu ngiya, waidaa* ('Wider' – a rubber-band game) and *Chidunu* (ball game). Some of these children's games are not peculiar to Zambia, but can be found in other African countries and far beyond the continent. In fact, the origin of some games remains unclear and they could be from African or from other continents. Names of games differ and the rules as well as the methods of playing vary, because the games have been adapted to suit the needs of local cultures. A list of such games includes:

- Hopscotch is known as *Imboko* in Zambia (Bemba), *Rayuela* in Indonesia and Spain (Spanish), and *Pada* in Zimbabwe (Shona);
- Rubber-band rope game is known as *Waidaa* in the Zambian language Ichikopabeluti and *Chen qiu rong* in China;
- 'Lord Stone' is known as *Ichiyenga* in Zambia (Bemba), *Diketo* among the Sotho of South Africa and Lesotho, *Nhodo* in Zimbabwe (Shona) and *Izingendo* in South Africa (Zulu);
- Skipping game is known as *Inkampa* in the Zambian language Ichikopabeluti and *Inqatu* in South Africa (Zulu).¹⁸

Within the different countries mentioned above the listed games are known by different names according to the different ethnic groups and places found in those particular countries. Kasolo (2008) notes that within Bemba IKS games are not restricted to children; there are games for adults, although these are not as common in recent times as they used be in the pre-colonial times. According to Kasolo, *Isolo* was very popular among adult men when they took a break from their work while at *Insaka*. Though *Isolo* is no longer as popular as it was in pre-colonial days, it is still played by a few people who have even improved the quality of the materials used for making the playing board and the seeds (Kashoki 2008). Kashoki adds that the game was very popular in the black townships in the cities during the colonial times.

¹⁸ See Appendix F for details of these games.

Plate 3.4 *Ukubuta* (children engaged in make-believe play at Matero Township in Lusaka) (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 3.5 *Ifyangalo* (Children playing *inkampa* – skipping – at Matero Township Lusaka) (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 3.6 *Ichiyenga* (Children playing *ichiyenga* – ‘Lord Stone’ at Matero Township in Lusaka) (© Lumbwe 2007)



3.2.2 *Imikalile* (Daily livelihood)

In Bemba indigenous communities day-to-day chores were performed at special gatherings known as *insaka* for males and *ifibwanse* for females. For the adolescents and children these gatherings were the source of knowledge and practical skills. *Insaka* and *ifibwanse* shared common activities such as *inshimi*, *imilumbe*, *amapinda*, *insoselo*, *amalango* and *amalumbo*.

3.2.2a *Insaka* (Gathering for males)¹⁹

At *insaka* men conducted their daily work in basket making, blacksmithing which included the making of axes and hoes, spears and other tools and work implements.²⁰ Meals were brought by the wives of the members of *insaka* and these meals were shared by all those present. Unlike the Luvale of North-Western Province, who are also matrilineal and originated from the Luba-Lunda Empire in the Republic of Congo, and the Chewa of Eastern Province, the Bemba do not have an initiation school for boys and also do not practice circumcision. *Insaka* and other social interactions with elders provided the young ones with the vital knowledge and experience which they required for the onerous tasks that lay ahead

¹⁹ The word *insaka* refers to both singular and plural forms and also may refer to a hut built without walls; the roof is supported by poles.

²⁰ *Insaka* do not exist any longer, but the exact time when they became obsolete is not known. As a result this section is written in the past tense to indicate that the *insaka* no longer survive. The Luvale, Mukanda and Chewa, Nyau have continued to the present.

of them in life. The Luvale, for instance, perform the rite of passage through the *Mukanda* (boys initiation 'school'), which involves, among other things, the circumcision of boys (White 1962; Wele 1993). The Chewa perform an initiation rite of passage through the *Gule wamkulu* 'school'; however, these boys do not undergo circumcision like the Luvale. Another ethnic group that performs boys initiation is the Lozi of Western Zambia through the Milaka school (Muwowo 1984).

Insaka and *ifibwanse* did not follow a standard curriculum in a Western sense. However, according to Kasonde (1953:1–3), transmission of information from the adults to the youths was done at two levels: firstly, orally through discussions involving mainly interpretation of *amapinda*, *imilumbe* (stories without songs), *ificholeko* (riddles), *amalango* and *insoselo*. Secondly, practically through observation and participation as assistants to the adults as they were making various tools and implements (such as *imiseke* (baskets), *amatanda* (reed mats – sin. *ubutanda*), *imyono* (fishing baskets), *inkasu* (hoes), *amasebe* (axes) and *imifwi* (spears). Kasonde (1953), Labrecque (1947) and Ng'andu (1922) state that in all the activities at *insaka* there was an observable structure and routine in terms of the general organisation and performance of activities at *insaka*. Activities for the youth at *insaka* proceeded from simple to more intricate ones, while at the same time guidance by the experienced adults was reduced as the youths gained proficiency. After demonstrating their ability to produce tools with minimal guidance, the youths were tested by being assigned tasks that they were expected to perform from the preparatory stage to completion (Kasonde 1953:3; Kapwepwe 1994). In relation to the organisation and structure of indigenous education systems such as that provided at *insaka* and by initiation schools, Wele (1993:33-44) points out that the educational training content was categorised in distinct stages that suited the age group of the children being trained. For instance, one category involved babies and children between the ages of zero to ten or twelve, the following group involved adolescents (13 to 20) and the last involved adults (21 and above).²¹

In his account of the social activities of the Bemba in his book *Imilimo ya bena-kale*, Kasonde indicates that the musical arts played an integral role during the proceedings at *insaka*. The songs in this case were used for reinforcing certain important concepts and ideas that emphasised the importance of moral uprightness and the need to respect and preserve

²¹ The age group ranges for the second and last group have been included by the researcher; are they intended to give a rough idea and not the exact ages.

knowledge that has been passed on from the older generation to the next (Kasonde 1953:2). Examples of such songs include:

Table 3.2 Song text of *Lombe Bwalya*

<i>Lombe Bwalya,</i> <i>Lombe Bwalya.</i> <i>Wibinda chila ee, Lombe Bwalya.</i> <i>Ngefyo abapakale bale chinda.</i>	Lombe Bwalya, Lombe Bwalya. Do not stop us from performing the dance, Lombe Bwalya. Just like how olden day people used to dance.
--	--

The text means that Chief Lombe Bwalya does not stop boys and girls from performing the dance. The dance has been passed on to them. The boys and girls did not start it; it has been left to them by the elders.

Table 3.3 Song text of *Bakulu batulanga*

Leader: <i>Bakulu batulanga</i> Chorus: <i>Kwimba kutubwa</i> <i>Kwimba kutubwa</i> <i>Nokushikapo.</i>	It is the elders who showed us. Digging is making a hole Digging is making a hole and burying it.
--	--

This song is sung to demonstrate that the ways of performing daily chores have been passed on to the younger generations from their ancestors. Barz (2004:128) states that:

The performance of traditional music is typically used to mark significant moments in the life cycle, to punctuate communal rituals, to underscore social behaviour, and to facilitate political and economic education.

Besides cultural and moral lessons imparted through the various activities that took place at *insaka*, the youths also learnt games such as *isolo* (a game played on a wooden board with troughs using seeds heaped in the troughs) and *impeta* (a game played by spinning wild seeds on *ibeta*, a circular clearing on the ground, smoothened with clay, of about thirty centimetres radius) (Kasonde 1953). The youths did not spend their entire day at *insaka*, but also had time when they met on their own as peers. During such times the youths played different games from those that they learnt at *insaka* (*Chityatya*, *Mangobele*, *Mpelepete* and *Nsengwansengwa*).

3.2.2b *Ifibwanse* (Gathering for women)

At *ifibwanse* women came together as they ‘made clay pots’ (*ukubumba inongo*) and conversed about issues around womanhood. Unlike at *insaka* for the men, food was not served here as each woman went and prepared food in their individual homesteads and fed the children there; they also sent their husband’s portion to the *insaka*. *Ifibwanse* also served the

purpose of allowing leisure time for the women. For the Bemba female youths knowledge acquisition happened in a more elaborate, better prepared and organised manner than for their male counterparts at *insaka*. Besides their experience at *ifibwanse*, the Bemba women obtained much of their knowledge, as youths, from *chisungu* (girls initiation ceremony) (Labrecque 1931; Etienne 1937; Kasonde 1953; Richards 1956; Kambole 1980; Kapwepwe 1994).

3.2.2c Selected activities of *insaka* and *ifibwanse*

Inshimi (stories with songs; sin. *akashimi*), *imilumbe*, *amalango* (poem), *imishikakulo* (poem) and *Amalumbo* (praise poem) have been selected for discussion in this section. *Amapinda* and *insoselo* have been discussed as part of Section 3.1.2a (*Insaka*).

Frost defines *inshimi* as:

Oral, fictional performances characterised by repetition of images. Often the image containing the major action of the performance is summarised in a song. *Inshimi* focus on the system of mores which constitute the basic values of the Bemba society: *umuchinshi*. Frost (1977:33)

Through *inshimi* good morals are taught to the children. Mushindo (1957) points out that *inshimi* commonly features at *insaka* but were most significant for the women at *chibwanse* who preferred to tell *inshimi* when they had concluded their day's chores in the evenings. Mushindo points out that *imilumbe* (sin. *umulumbe*), a very close relation of *inshimi* except that they do not contain the musical element, were also very common in Bemba teaching. However, *imilumbe* were not favoured by the women at *ifibwanse* (sin. *ichibwanse*), hence they remained a prominent feature of *insaka*. According to Mushindo (1957), and Musapu and Mpashi (1962), *inshimi* and *imilumbe* are very old, though their origin is not known, They use a special kind of language and therefore are not supposed to be mixed with other languages. The substitution of words or mixing with other languages would render *umulumbe* meaningless in essence. Ng'andu and Herbst (2004:41) summarise the important role of *inshimi* in IKS as: '[e]mbedded in musical story telling are educational principles that could and should guide musical arts education in Africa and the rest of the world'.

According to Makashi (1970), *amalango* (poem),²² *imishikakulo* (poem) and *amalumbo* (praise poem) featured commonly at special community gatherings attended by chiefs and other royal family members. Makashi continues that Bemba chiefs loved *imishikakulo* and *amalumbo* as that these modes of communication bore deep philosophic expressions and often included words from other languages. This characteristic rendered them very difficult to interpret so that people depended on a few elders who could understand the languages used. Chintwansombo (2006) adds that *imishikakulo* and *amalumbo* were utilised in expressing not only praise to those in authority, but also dissatisfaction of their poor performance. *Amlumbo* also took the form of sung poetry or rhythmical chants which were usually performed by *ingomba* (royal musicians – a title also commonly used to refer to musicians in general). Kapwepwe (2006) notes that through *imishikakulo* and *amalumbo* people acquired knowledge on governance structures and systems, and the Bemba constitution, while at the same time being entertained as these were artistically presented (Musapu & Mpashi 1962:i).

3.2.3 *Chisungu*

For the purpose of this research *chisungu* will not be discussed in detail, but instead a brief outline will be provided as *chisungu* is not the main focus of the study. Further detailed information on *chisungu* can be obtained from Richards (1956).

Chisungu is the name for the Bemba girls' initiation ceremonies. They are associated with physical maturity (puberty, nubility) as well as social maturity (initiation) and serve to mark the transition of the girl (initiate – called *nachisungu*) from childhood to social adulthood, and also the public recognition and celebration of her change of status (Richards 1956; Rasing 1995; Lumbwe 2004). Since it is very rare to hear about *chisungu* ceremonies the tense used in this description is in the past, though this does not imply that this rite of passage has become extinct. Traces of the continuity of *chisungu* are visible. Change in the organisation of the ceremonies because of socio-cultural and economic factors is also noticeable. From the early 1900s Gouldsbury and Shean (1911) and Richards (1956) studied the Bemba people and their culture and noticed variations in *chisungu* ceremonies especially in the case of the wealthy and the less wealthy or poor. These disparities resulted in the omission of certain rituals and also affected the duration of the ceremonies. For instance, in the case of wealthy

²² According to Musapu and Mpashi (1962:i) the word *amalango* is not a Bemba word, but comes from Mambwe and Namwanga languages from the Northern Province of Zambia. The two authors, however, opted to use the word *amalango* as they claim that they could not find a Bemba equivalent of poem. On the contrary, other the scholars and Bemba speakers Kalanda, David Yumba, Emmanuel Lumbwe opted to use the word *imishikakulo* as a Bemba equivalent.

people the ceremonies usually lasted one month or even longer, while the less wealthy shortened their ceremonies to last close to two weeks.

3.2.3a Ukuchindila ichisungu

Chisungu had clearly defined instructors collectively called *banachimbusa* (sin. *nachimbusa* – mother of sacred emblems). Among *banachimbusa* some played special roles such as *mwine* (owner), *nachimbusa* (mistress of ceremony), *nakalamba* (the messenger), *nachisungu* (the initiate) and *ulupwa* (family, relatives). After a discussion of each special role, the character of *chisungu* will be described.

Mwine is the person, male or female, who sponsors the ceremony by providing funding for the ceremonial requirements such as food, drinks and token gifts for *banachimbusa*. The owner (*mwine*) is said to ‘*ukuchindila* [name of person] *ichisungu*’ (‘dance the *chisungu* of [name of person]).

Nachimbusa is the organiser of the rites and proceedings, leader of the dancing and singing. She is also in charge of making arrangements for the production of the *imbusa* (sacred emblem). To perform the role of *nachimbusa* requires unusual intellectual ability, leadership and skills, as well as a reputation that would attract the interest of other women in the community (Richards 1956; Kapwepwe 2004; Ilunga 2002). Ilunga further points out that the position of *nachimbusa* commanded great respect in the community to an extent that, in the early days, the person was allowed to wear *ingala* (head-dress made of feathers, which was reserved for certain *imfumu* (chiefs) and *bakabilo* (hereditary counsellors)). *Nachimbusa* was furthermore afforded the privilege to report the progress of the *chisungu* proceedings to the chief at the court. Mutale (2006) notes that, once selected to perform the role of *nachimbusa*, one was expected to continue mentoring the initiate throughout her life. After the *chisungu*, *nachimbusa* would assume the title of *mboswa* (lit. special guardian).

Nakalamba performs the role of assistant to *nachimbusa*. The main functions of *nakalamba* were to invite guests to the exchange of feasts ceremony, and also to collect and prepare clay for the moulding of *imbusa*. The *nakalamba* also carried the responsibility to supervise the ritual preparation of food (Mukolongo 1999; Ilunga 2002; Kapwepwe 2004). *Nakalamba* used

the 'Bemba form of obeisance to a chief'²³ (Richards 1956:58) to invite guests for the ceremony. Kambole (1980) adds that *nakalamba* was also the first person to know that a girl had started menstruating (in Bemba this is known as *ukutola ichisungu*; lit. 'to pick menstruation').

In the pre-colonial days *nachisungu* were usually betrothed, but there were also some cases where the girl went to *chisungu* without being affianced. In cases where *nachisungu* was betrothed before the initiation ceremony, her bridegroom who was expected to participate in certain of the ceremonies known as '*shibwinga*'. The sister or 'cross-cousin'²⁴ who has to stand in for the bridegroom during certain parts of the ceremonies also needed to attend *chisungu* ceremonies (Richards 1956; Kambole 1980).

Family members and relatives also had special roles to play in the ceremonies. The *nachisungu*'s mother had the responsibility of providing food and beer for the ceremonies, while the *nachisungu*'s father's sister (*nasenge*) would stand in by her side during the ceremonies. The *nasenge* played a special role as the right-hand person, because it was believed that the *nasenge* 'had special influence over the fertility of her paternal niece' (Richards 1956:58).

It is evident from the expression *ukuchindila ichisungu* (dancing *chisungu* for someone) that the musical arts²⁵ play a crucial role within Bemba oral tradition in facilitating the passing on of cultural values and morals from one generation to the next. According to Barz (2004:123):

Traditional music remains a significant marker of identity in many aspects of [...] communities and societies. It is central to the construction of historical constructions of self and other in the [community] as well as to the performance of everyday religious and spiritual life.

As Etienne (1937), Richards (1956), Kambole (1980), Ilunga (2002) and Kapwepwe (2004) observe, *chisungu* instructions on fertility, domestic duties and responsibilities, as well as marriage obligations, were imparted to *nachisungu* through song, dance and drama, and

²³ *Ukulamba/ukukunkula*: an act in which a person lies flat on her back on the ground and rolls from one side to the other while clapping hands at the same time.

²⁴ Amongst the Bemba-speaking people siblings of the mother's side of the family are referred to as 'cousins'. The term 'cross-cousin' is used to refer to sibling of the father's side of the family.

²⁵ Chapter Six deals specifically with *imfunktutu*, the wedding music and not with the musical art of *chisungu*. What is presented here is a very brief discussion as the topic of *chisungu* is beyond the scope of this study. A brief discussion of *chisungu* is necessary because of its relation to *imfunktutu*. The musical art of, for example, *inshimi*, is not included because it is not directly related to wedding music.

interpretation of *mbusa* (sacred emblems; *mbusa* is a Bemba word meaning ‘things handed down’). Some *chisungu* songs are restricted to its ceremonies, while others can also be performed at other marriage ceremonies. This confirms Nketia’s notion that:

Implied in the internal organisation of musical items and musical types is the exercise of some measure of social control. The music for a rite, a ceremony, or festival may not normally be performed in another context unless there is some special reason for doing so. (Nketia 1974:26)

The songs are performed in an antiphonal manner, usually with a leader and chorus responding, and they are performed at three levels:

- Singing in a call and response (antiphony) with a leader calling while the rest of the group responds in chorus;
- Drum accompaniment;
- Hand-clapping accompaniment.

The chorus singing in response to the leader’s call harmonises the responses in two parts, which are mainly a third higher or lower than the main melody. Some songs are sung rhythmically in virtual monotone (Lumbwe 2004:191).

The dances are solo performances with a definitely dramatic character and are not round dances of the kind usually seen in other social activities (Richards 1956:59). Richards further points out that in *chisungu* there is an emphasis on dancing to demonstrate respect for someone and also as an important way of carrying out obligations such as provision of food and beer. Mutale (2006) adds that it is no mere coincidence that performing *chisungu* is described as *ukuchindila*, which demonstrates the honour accorded to *nachisungu* by someone dancing for her. Dramatic presentations involving real play-acting are performed to represent domestic and social obligations in a Bemba woman’s life (Labrecque 1931; Richards 1956; Kambole 1980).

3.2.3b *Ukulasa imbusa*

Mbusa has been described by Richards (1956) and Corbeil (1982) as ‘sacred emblems’ in that their role in *chisungu* fulfil the purpose of disseminating vital cultural knowledge, which is associated with religious ritual and symbolic purification. According to Richards, Corbeil and Rasing (1995) *imbusa* are considered a secret in the sense that they bear hidden names and hidden meanings that can only be interpreted by those privileged to have gone through *chisungu*.

There were three main types of *imbusa*:

- Pottery models;
- Floor paintings;
- Wall paintings.

Each *mbusa* has a song and activity that accompanies it. Upon the conclusion of *chisungu*, the fired *imbusa* were stored in a special secret place at the bottom of the river; this place is only known by the *nachimbusa* in charge and her daughter. At the end of the ceremonies *nachimbusa* destroyed the floor and wall paintings. Corbeil (1982) notes that by 1956 a collection of two hundred *imbusa* (pottery models) had been collected and preserved at Moto Moto Museum in the Mbala District (Northern Province of Zambia). For the purposes of this research the *chisungu* ceremonies will not be outlined here as the purpose of discussing *chisungu* at this point is to note its significance in the IKS, but detailed accounts could be obtained from the writings of Richards (1956) and Kambole (1980).

It suffices it to say that *chisungu* embod[ied] processes involving the symbolism and recognition of growth and status change, the magical ensuring of fertility, and [transition] to marriage. (White 1962:1)

In the early days the *ukulasa imbusa* ceremony was incorporated as part of *chisungu* ceremonies. According to Kambole (2003), *ukulasa imbusa* was performed at the *nachisungu*'s seclusion hut and the ceremony was enacted on the final day of *chisungu*. Though *chisungu* was entirely a female affair, *ukulasa imbusa* included the *shibwinga* (groom) who received a formal invitation to attend. Kapwepwe (2003) points out that, in order to attend *ukulasa imbusa*, the *shibwinga* must be accompanied by his sister and another female relative, bringing with him a bundle of firewood (*ichifinga cha nkuni*) and quantities of salt and meat (beef). Having entered the hut, the older women sing and dance as he unties the firewood and presents *nakalamba* with two live fowls, one for herself and the other for her *nachisungu*, who has to prepare them for cooking. While this is under way, the *shibwinga* leaves the hut, to return some time later accompanied with several relatives who have to witness his performance at the *ukulasa imbusa* rite. For the *ukulasa imbusa* rite, the *shibwinga* has to have a bow and arrow (*ubuta no mufwi*) with which he has to strike the emblems (Lumbwe 2004:80). According to Ilunga (2002), the approach to the initiation hut must be accompanied by singing and, once inside it, the *shibwinga* must stand in the centre of the room, while the *nachisungu* seats herself below a special *imbusa* protruding from the hut wall. Ilunga adds that it is expected that that *shibwinga* has to strike the special *imbusa* with his bow and arrow in front of all the people assembled for the ritual. When he shoots at the last *imbusa*, the *nachisungu* must jump over another *imbusa* that has been specially situated for

her. Her action is met with applause, praising and shouts of encouragement. However, should the *shibwinga* fail to strike the targeted *imbusa*, his performance is not treated lightly and he will be asked to repeat the performance at a later stage. According to Chinyanta (2002), *shibwinga* will be asked to repeat the performance, because the actual act is a test of his levels and powers of concentration, and is indicative of his worthiness and capability as a good husband.

Ukulasa imbusa involves a lot of singing and dancing and the use of *imbusa* (sacred emblems) that are connected to the rituals and ceremonies performed. Some of the songs are used during the *amafunde* (marriage lessons) ceremony when the *nabwinga* (the bride) is placed in seclusion before the wedding. *Ukulasa imbusa* songs are sung in the following ritual contexts, which are marked by specific kinds of instructions:

1. *Nsonge*, a prayer by the *nachimbusa* to an honoured ancestor of the *nachisungu*;
2. Premarital warnings;
3. Husband's obligations;
4. Wife's obligations;
5. Mutual obligations;
6. Motherhood duties;
7. Social duties;
8. Domestic duties, those regarding both the husband and wife;
9. Agricultural duties;
10. Conclusion of the ceremony.

Each *imbusa* song has an accompanying visual aid (an emblem which is either a clay model or wall painting) (Lumbwe, 2004:81).

The following examples show the *imbusa* song texts and their accompanying *imbusa*:

Table 3.4 Song text of *Nsonge* (prayer)

<i>Utwafweko, We wa buchundami. Mumilimo yesu, utusoseleko.</i>	Help us, you honourable one. In our difficult work, intercede on our behalf.
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Plate 3.7 *Nsonge imbusa* (Small clay pot with white beads around its neck) (Corbeil 1982:19)

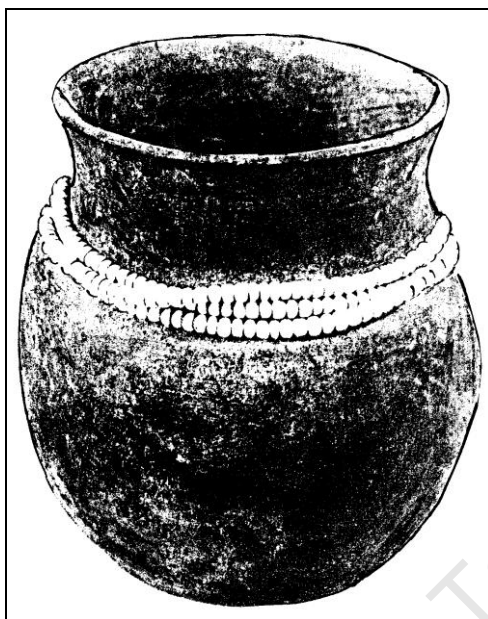


Table 3.5 Song text of *Mundu* (Lion)

Ne mundu kapondo
Ndile ubukalamba mayo ee
Ndile ubwa ng'ombe, busha buno
Shakila ku mutopoto
Pali uko mundu asumine nama

I am the lion the enemy
 I roar like a lion, oh mother
 I low like a cow, this slavery
 The lion is roaring in the beans garden
 somewhere, a lion has caught an animal

Plate 3.8 *Mundu imbusa* (A large earthen clay pot with two small openings at the top. When you blow through one of them whilst blocking the other, you can produce a roaring sound) (Corbeil 1982:29)

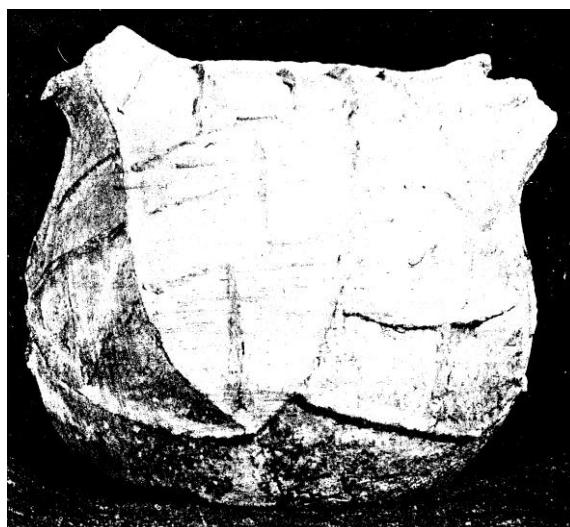
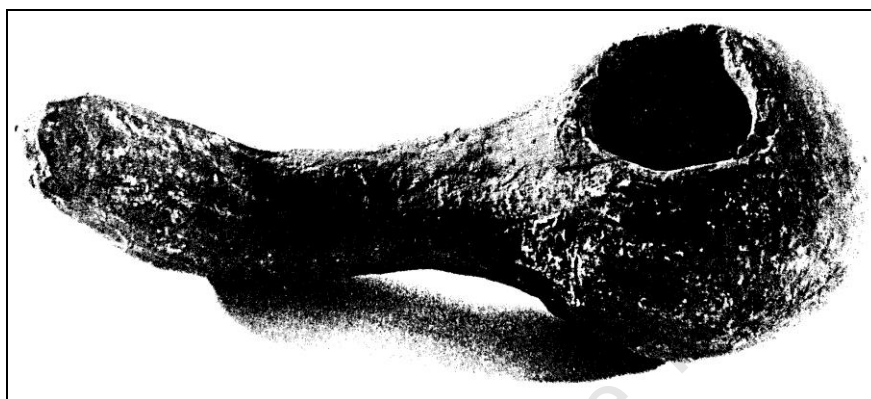


Table 3.6 Song text of *Chibale Chibale*

<i>Kasambe umulume wechinagwe ee.</i> Chibale, Chibale	Give your husband a bath, you useless thing. Chibale, Chibale
<i>Napanshi ulala wechinangwe ee.</i> Chibale, Chibale	And bow down when you greet him, you useless thing. Chibale, Chibale

Plate 3.9 *Lukombo imbusa* (A clay model of a cup made from a gourd) (Corbeil 1982:62)



3.2.4 *Ubwinga* (Bemba indigenous wedding ceremonies)

This section provides a general description of *ubwinga* ceremonies as they were celebrated and performed during the time before the Bemba came into contact with their British colonial masters, missionaries and people from other places beyond Zambia. A broad outline is presented without giving full details as these may be obtained in Lumbwe (2004:103–128), Kambole (1980:61–101) and Labrecque (1931:47–58). The account on *ubwinga* provided by Etienne (1937:37–47) does not represent a true reflection of Bemba *ubwinga*. Etienne describes the Lungu²⁶ *ubwinga* ceremonies and incorporates into them some of the Bemba elements of *ubwinga*. In addition, research participants contacted, during this research, such as Chitwansombo (2006), Fulanshi (2003), Kambole (2003), Ilunga (2002), Mutale (2006) and Mwela (2003), who have read Etienne's account indicated that it is a clear misrepresentation of Bemba cultural practice and hence should be discounted.

²⁶ The Lungu are a neighbouring ethnic group who were frequently raided by the Bemba during the times of the Bantu migrations. Because of inter-ethnic marriages, the Bemba absorbed some of the Lungu cultural and traditional elements, especially in the form of language (words).

The Bemba look upon marriage as a significant part of IKS. The view marriage as:

- The union of a man and a woman forever;
- The amalgamation of *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*'s immediate and extended families, thereby extending the sense of communalism in Bemba society;
- A set of specific traditions and customs that provide a framework and code of conduct *umuchinshi*. Bemba culture has strong sense of oral tradition which is embedded to a great extent in the musical arts, which are incorporated and utilised in the Bemba world view;
- An institution that facilitates the imparting of knowledge to the initiated and the young according to their level of experience in life by emphasising the maintaining of good marriages, as these represent the core of their moral values; as such marriage ceremonies contribute to the preservation of the cultural values and traditions of the Bemba people (Lumbwe 2004, 2006).

As early as the 1700s, as noted in the book *Imilandu ya baBemba* by Tanguy (1948), when the Bemba were called Luba, they migrated from the Congo into what was later called Northern Rhodesia. During the time of migration the leading brothers Katongo and Chiti decided that the Bemba should vest their inheritance in the offspring of their sister Chilufya Mulenga (Tanguy 1948:9).²⁷ The implication of this decision was the shift from a patrilineal to a matrilineal system of descent. Tanguy (1948) continues that the matrilineal system²⁸ was favoured because the Bemba respected and valued the fact that females were the custodians of (ethnic) culture, traditions and customs. In family life mothers play an integral role in imparting knowledge to their children as they spend more time with them in the formative years of their socialisation. With regards to the indigenous community Nzewi points out that:

Some indigenous cultural practices are conservative and resistant to external forces of change. They could accommodate elements of change very cautiously and with critical introspection, except when a dominant force suppresses them or coerces change. Systematically instituted cultural practices that embody a people's deep rationalizations of the purpose and issues of life, as well as performatively reveal the cherished aspects of their human identity, include marriage rites and customs, dietary science, funerary rites, political systems social structures, belief systems, entrenched sets of values, virtues and ethics, their modes of hospitality oral literature, artistic expressions or contextual significance and festivals, among others. (Nzewi 2007:85)

Though there has been influence and disruption of the family systems among the urban people of Zambia, it is evident that among the Bemba-speaking people the matrilineal system has

²⁷ Nkole, Katongo and Chiti (three brothers) and Chilufya-Mulenga (their sister) were the children of Mukulumpe the King of the Luba people of Congo. Many of the accounts read by the author of this research on the Luba-Lunda Empire mention only the four children listed above, but it is not clear whether or not Mukulumpe had other children.

²⁸ The Bemba strongly believe that it is easy to determine the mother of a child as she carries the pregnancy and delivers the baby, while there is a possibility that a father could not be the biological parent. For this reason a child claims inheritance from the mother's brother who is known as *nalume* (lit. male mother). Chandamukulu (2005) claims that around the time of the Luba migration the people did not have access to hospital facilities where they could do DNA or paternity tests; the matrilineal system was therefore the only option they had to secure inheritance.

survived in the sense that there are tensions between the father and *nalume* (mother's brother, i.e. the 'male mother') of children when dealing with marriage negotiations (*ukusonga*, *ukukobekela* and marriage payments), because the *nalume* has more say over the sister's children. Chandamukulu (2005) notes that even though in a family the father is considered to be the head, the children cannot inherit his position, but his sister's children would. Chandamukulu further notes that even though the Western system of the use of a first name and surname has been imposed on the Bemba and other ethnic groups in the country, the system of inheritance of names is still matrilineal.

Ubwinga ceremonies are celebrated in three ways:

- *Ukutolana fye* (lit. picking up each other), which refers to the union of a man and woman, who have been married before (re-marries without being widowed), without the consent of their other family members;
- *Ichombela nganda* (an abbreviated form of *ubwinga*, involving a small gathering of supporters);
- *Ubwinga bwa kapundu* (full *ubwinga* involving a large gathering with beer, singing and dancing, forming the main part of the festivities and celebrations (Kambole 1980:61–62; Lumbwe 2004:103).

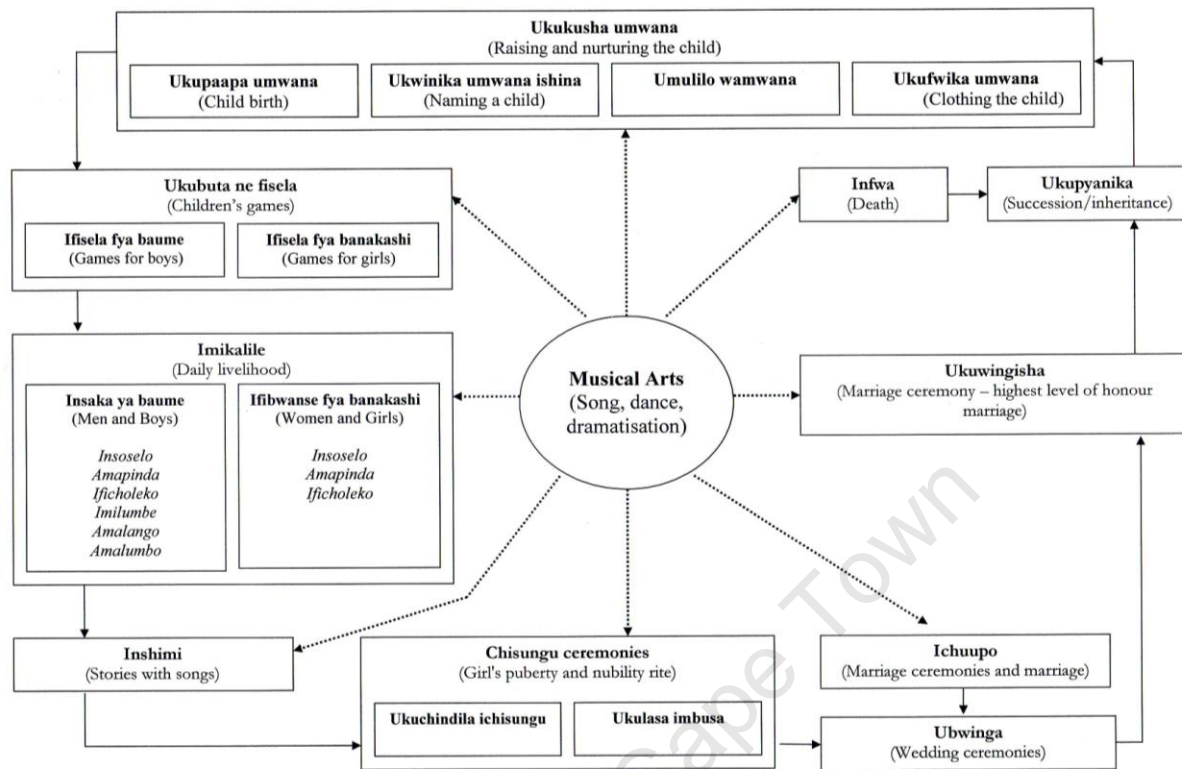
As *Ubwinga bwa kapundu* is considered the most appropriate way to go through marriage instructions, this model is presented in detail of this study. For a detailed presentation of all the *ubwinga* ceremonies see Appendix E.

Figure 3.1 Summary of *ubwinga* ceremonies during the pre-colonial era



A summary of the Bemba IKS in which musical arts are utilised are presented in Fig. 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Summary of Bemba IKS in which musical arts are utilised



3.2.5 *Imfwa no kushika* (Death and burial rites)

The Bemba viewed disease (*ubulwele*) and death (*imfwa*) as very strong possible interventions of some supernatural forces, such as evil spirits (*imipashi iyibi*) and sorcerers (*indoshi*) (Kunda 2002). Death or disease as the result of natural causes is not usually considered as a sufficient explanation, even among the Bemba who now live in the urban areas.

3.2.5a *Imfwa* (Death)

According to Kunda (2002), the Bemba view death as the separation of the soul (*umupashi*) from the body, or in more precise terms, the disincarnating of the soul. The Bemba also believe that wherever *imipashi* dwell, the conditions are somewhat akin to those of human beings here on earth (Etienne 1937:65). *Imipashi* would enjoy more extensive power over natural forces. Former chiefs or *bashimpundu* (fathers of twins) have special powers and could make the lives of the living difficult by causing disease and death (Lumbwe 2004:25).

There are two categories of souls that are associated with death: (a) *imipashi* (good souls, spirits) that wield a benevolent influence, provided that one accords them due respect; and (b) *ifiwa* (ghosts, evil souls/spirits) that have become evil and harmful, either because they had

left this 'vale of tears' with resentment in their hearts, or because they had become spiteful after life because of constant vexing and neglect on the part of the living (Etienne 1937:66: Lumbwe, 2004:25). According to Etienne, the Bemba believe that *ifiwa* are vengeful because they depart with a grudge, such that they would forever try to harm the object of their hate, usually a member of their family or clan. Up to this day this belief has such a hold on the Bemba that all cases of suicide are considered as acts of spite with a view to vengeance (Malama 2002). Mwandu (2007) adds that a person incensed by what he/she considers as an unbearable injustice may take his/her life so that his/her soul may become *ichiwa* and thus wreak vengeance upon the living.

Death is counted among the causes of pollution or contamination infecting the living and can indeed affect the whole village. It is therefore inevitable that people take precautionary measures to protect themselves by conducting purification ceremonies when their relatives pass away. According to Ng'andu:

The services of a *shinganga*²⁹ are required and the process of *ukubuka* is the first step taken. In most cases *kabosha* (decaying remedy) is used for purification and ensuring that there is no possibility for *ichiwa* to reincarnate. However, in more drastic circumstances disinterment of the skeleton and cremation of the remains would be the procedure to follow, thus effectively cutting all possible communication between this life and the next. (Ng'andu (1922:56)

Seeking the services of the *inganga* (diviner) was not the only purification option at the disposal of the villagers. When people recognised the symptoms of death during pre-colonial times, the sick person was taken outside the village and looked after in a shed (*ulusasa*) until he or she died (Ilunga 2002). Children or pregnant women were not allowed to go to the shed, excepts for the wife of the dying person. During the time the sick person is nursed at the shed his/her hands would be kept closed. Should a finger extend, this was a clear indication of the presence of *ichiwa* in the clan. When a death occurred within a village, people referred to this situation as *umushi wabunda* (the village is flooded) since contamination was not ruled out. Ng'andu (1922:57) points out that to alleviate the situation purification of the village was conducted by extinguishing all village fires in the huts, and by scattering cinders and ashes on the western part of the outskirts of the village (*kumasamba*). Once the act of extinguishing the fires was performed, from then on until the end of all the purification ceremonies cooking would be done outside the huts on new fires.

²⁹ *Inganga* (both singular and plural for diviner), *shinganga* (lit. father of a diviner), but both terms have been used to refer to diviner.

3.2.5b *Ukushika* (Burial)

The main burial rites of the Bemba are *ukonga*, *ichilindi* and *ukubika iloba muchilindi*. *Ukonga* (preparation of the corpse³⁰ for burial): initially the attendants would ensure that the eyes and mouth were closed. Thereafter the corpse would be placed in the traditional posture for burial which was done as follows: the arms were folded in a position that brings the closed fists under the chin, the legs doubled up with knees touching the abdomen, while the heels of the feet touch against the lower part of the thighs – a posture known as *ukufuka umubili* (folding up of the body – a posture similar to that of a foetus in the womb) (Ngosa 1986). Strips of bark (*ulushishi*) are used to truss up the corpse in this position. The end of *ukonga* is marked by wrapping the corpse in a piece of cloth and then it is rolled in a reed mat (*ubutanda*). If the deceased was an old person or dignitary, the corpse would be borne into his former hut to lie in state until burial. In a case where the corpse is carried back to the village, the act is expressed as *ukusenda akanyelele* (to carry in the fashion of the ants) (Etienne 1937:15; Labrecque 1947:65; Lumbwe 2004:27).

Unless there was a special reason the corpse would usually be buried after 24 hours. In order for the kinsmen of the deceased to determine the cause of his/her death, a ritual hunt known as *ukusowa ifibanda fya chisubo* (the hunt of the anointing) would be conducted. However, the results of the enquiry would not be communicated to the members of the clan and remained confidential (Ng'andu 1922:58; Labrecque 1947:70).

Ichilindi (hole); it was customary that at the cemetery a spot close to that of a relative or relatives was sought. Thereafter, a narrow vertical hole (*ichilindi*) of about 2 metres deep was dug (Ngosa 1986). However, if the deceased person was of higher status in the community, the grave had a kind of recess made at the bottom to accommodate the corpse. In order to prevent the earth from covering the corpse the recess would be partitioned with sticks that were vertically placed. According to Kunda (2002) the corpse would be laid with head facing the east, a thing that is done in the hope that the deceased person's soul would rise with the sun. Kunda continues that the deceased's bracelet and necklace would be broken and thrown into grave to ensure that the body is confined to the grave. Furthermore, the relatives would also be expected to shower the grave with offerings such as polished shells (*impanse*) and white beads (*ubulungu ubwabuta*) to honour the deceased. This gesture would also give the

³⁰ Corpse in Bemba is known as *ichitumbi*.

deceased the means to buy fire when he/she reached God (*Lesa*). Mwela (2003) adds that if this precautionary measure was not taken, the deceased's soul would not know where to go and end up roaming about.

Ukubika iloba muchilindi (filling the grave with soil/earth); the grave would be well smoothened and a small *ifwesa* (ant mound) placed *kumitwe* (on the head side where the head rests) (Kambole 2003). The corpse would then be lowered in to the grave. Before filling the grave, the relatives of the deceased would throw in some earth by kneeling at the edge of the grave and pushing some earth with their elbows. Thereafter, the grave would then be filled in by selected grave diggers. Once the grave is completely filled, articles such as bracelets, necklaces, *inongo* (clay pot) and other small kitchen utensils would be place all over the grave. Chitwansombo (2006) points out that for the utensils placed all over the grave to be of any use to the deceased,³¹ they would be destroyed by piercing or cracking them before placing them on the grave. After this the burial rite would be concluded with everyone leaving the cemetery.

3.2.5c *Ukupyana* (Succession)

Succession and inheritance matters are deliberated at *isambo/isambwe lyamfwa* (family gathering after burial of the deceased relative). At this gathering, if the deceased was married, both families (that of the deceased and that of his/her in-laws) are expected to be represented as the clan of the deceased claims its rights (Chinkumwa 1997). The clan primarily lays claim to:

- The soul of the deceased person;
- The rights and privileges that the deceased enjoyed during his lifetime;
- The property he/she left and the children (Etienne, 1937:17)

As already shown in the previous sections on death (*imfwa*), Chinkumwa (1997) points out that the occurrence of death places the surviving spouses in a very awkward position as they remain in close contact with death, a state expressed as *ali ne mfwa*. Chinkumwa continues that this emanates from the most intimate relationship between husband (*umulume*) and wife (*umukashi*). The Bemba believe that if a person dies, something of the dead person remains in the living, and if the soul (*umupashi*) returns, it is most likely that it would choose the former partner. This way the clan of the deceased has to remove all spiritual and human connections that might still remain (Lumbwe 2004:39). Furthermore, social functions that the

³¹ The dead do things in opposite ways to the living.

deceased held when alive are also taken into account and are preferred to remain in the same clan. Chitwansombo (2006) adds that it is inevitable that a member of the deceased's clan must inherit all that belonged to the deceased, but the children belong to the clan of their mother as the Bemba are matrilineal.

Succession (*ukupyana*) does not occur in the same way after every death. Depending upon the circumstances and the agreement reached by the clan, the following options may be considered:

- In the case of *shimfwilwa* (widower), *impyani* (successor) for his wife must be her sister or a close family member from her clan. There are no restrictions and therefore the family may choose a married woman or maiden (*umushimbe*) as a successor;
- In the case of a *mukamfwilwa* (widow), the clan may choose a married man or a bachelor (*nkungulume*) as a successor.

Details of the following succession rites are provided in Appendix G: succession by a maiden (*ukupyanika umushimbe*), succession by a married woman (*ukupyanika namayo uwaupwa*), succession by a bachelor (*ukupyanika nkungulume*) and succession by a married man (*ukupyanika umwaume uwaupa*).

3.3 Summary

This chapter contextualised indigenous *ubwinda* ceremonies of the Bemba within the life-cycle of a person. Although an overview is given, detailed discussion of indigenous *ubwinda* ceremonies are presented in Appendices E. As such this chapter prepared the background for a comparative analysis between pre-colonial and post-independent marriage ceremonies in Lusaka and Kitwe.

Chapter Four

Bemba wedding ceremonies during post-independence (1965 to date)

4.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the nature of post-independence wedding ceremonies in the two main urban centres, Lusaka and Kitwe, where a high proportion of the population of Zambia live. The post-wedding ceremonies are investigated to determine the influence of Christianity on *ubwinga*. The researcher is fully aware of other religions such as Islam, Hinduism, Baha'I, Buddhism and Lumpa that have also impacted on indigenous knowledge systems. However, compared to Christianity, these religions form a relatively small percentage of the total population of Lusaka, the Copperbelt and the country at large.¹

Of the three types of Bemba *ubwinga* celebrations outlined in Chapter Three (*Ukutolanaſye*, *Ichombela nganda*, *Ubwinga bwa kapundu*), the latter two are the most common. According to Chitwansombo (2006), if one takes into account the way in which the indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies have been shortened and have also incorporated ceremonies foreign to the indigenous Bemba, it would be best to describe what happens at the beginning of the twenty-first century as *Ichombela nganda* (Abbreviated *ubwinga* ceremonies).

Some people may be tempted to incorrectly classify wedding ceremonies that have many invited guests² and serve *katubi* (beer) as *ubwinga bwa kapundu* (the main wedding ceremonies) (Chitwansombo 2006). Kambole (2002), Kapwepwe (2002) and Mutale (2006) argue that the current *ubwinga* ceremonies are very difficult to describe or classify in the indigenous Bemba sense for the following reasons:

- There is a growing tendency to omit certain rituals and ceremonies;
- Other ceremonies that are not part of the Bemba tradition (ceremonies such as 'kitchen parties', wedding church services and reception parties) are included;

¹ From the population of Zambia, an estimated 85% are Christians, 5% Muslims, 5% subscribe to other faiths including Hinduism, Baha'ism, and indigenous religions and 5% are atheist. (Cheyeka 2008:145, <Zam-religion>).

² In the Bemba sense there is no specific number that could describe a large gathering because in the early days, when some village communities were composed of 50 to 100 homesteads, if half of that community attended a ceremony that *ubwinga* was considered to be a large gathering. In addition, all community members were expected to attend. At present specific numbers could be determined as attendance of an *ubwinga* ceremony is by invitation and the numbers are predetermined before invitations are made.

- There are a large number of invited guests who attend *ubwinga* ceremonies, even though their presence is mainly to participate in the festivities and not necessarily to contribute towards the marriage instructions of the couple.

Kambole, Kapwepwe and Mutale suggest that new terminology be sought to describe the current Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies taking place in Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Though there may be mixed views on the description of post-independence Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies, for the purposes of this study *ubwinga bwa kapundu* will be described for the following reasons:

- It is the accepted Bemba cultural and indigenous marriage practice, which signifies, according to Bemba philosophy, the transfer of a person from the unmarried to married group and thereby indicates that a person is undergoing a change of status in society (rite of passage);
- The *ubwinga* ceremonies during the pre-colonial times were those of *ubwinga bwa kapundu*. It is important to use *ubwinga bwa kapundu* as norm for the sake of consistency and as a way to enable objective comparison between pre- and post-colonial *ubwinga*.

4.2 Post-independence (*ubwinga bwa kapundu*)

Post-independence *ubwinga bwa kapundu* includes the following ceremonies: *amafunde*, the kitchen party, *ichilangamulilo*, church ceremony, wedding reception, *ukupanga ichuupo*, wedding aftermath as well as *ukuluula* and *ukushikula*.³

4.2.1 *Amafunde* (marriage instructions)

Amafunde in the white wedding format take place some time before the kitchen party. These entail the seclusion of *nabwinga* (the bride) and *shibwinga* (the bridegroom) by designated *bana chimbusa* (midwives) and *bashi shibukombe* (go-between representing the groom) respectively. These two ‘schools’ (that of *nabwinga* and that of *shibwinga*) do not happen at the same time and are not conducted in the same way. According to Kambole (1980), Corbeil (1982) and Kapwepwe (1994), the difference between the two schools is three-fold: firstly, for *nabwinga*, lessons involve a lot of singing, dancing, dramatisation and ululating, whereas for *shibwinga* it is a quiet and very sombre affair; secondly, more emphasis is placed on *nabwinga*’s *amafunde* than that of *shibwinga*, resulting in different lengths of instruction periods (see Appendix H); thirdly, *nabwinga*’s *amafunde* take place some time before the kitchen party, while *shibwinga*’s *amafunde* are fitted in before *ichilangamulilo* (presentation of food to *shabwinga*) or the wedding reception.

³ The terms used in this chapter align itself with the terms that the community use to describe the different wedding ceremonies.

Details of what instructions and how they are conducted during *amafunde* cannot be provided in this study because doing so will mean breaching the confidentiality agreed upon with research subjects, and also it is taboo for anyone who has been initiated in these schools to divulge knowledge gained to persons not previously initiated. According to Muloshi (2002), the knowledge gained from *amafunde* is shared only among those who have initiated and those who are being initiated, regardless of whether they are close relatives or not.

In pre-colonial times *amafunde* were part of the *chisungu* initiation school, which preceded *ubwanga* ceremonies and lasted 'as long as three months' (Richards 1956:70). In recent times *ba nabwanga* (brides) who are in employment should be accommodated. According to Mutale (2006), *amafunde* are conducted in a crash course presented in one or two weekends, usually starting on a Friday night and lasting until Sunday night. *Amafunde* are usually not conducted at the *nabwanga's* or *shibwanga's* home, but instead at a specially selected home of either one of the *bana chimbusa*, *nasenge* (paternal aunt) or any other elderly relative. For the sake of privacy young children and/or males have to spend the duration of the *amafunde* elsewhere. As stated earlier, the musical arts play an important role in the imparting of marriage instructions during *amafunde* for the *nabwanga* and *shibwanga*; they address the following issues:

- Pre-marriage warnings;
- Husband's obligations in marriage;
- Wife's obligations in marriage;
- Mutual obligations;
- Parenthood;
- Social duties, and
- Domestic duties.

The musical arts included in *amafunde* are from the indigenous Bemba marriage category and the performance of the songs includes singing, drumming and clapping. Some songs are accompanied by dancing, while others are mimed (Lumbwe 2004:81).

4.2.2 'Kitchen party'

According to several *bana chimbusa* and kitchen party matrons interviewed by the researcher, the exact origin of the kitchen parties in Zambia is not known. Even though the exact origin cannot be pinpointed, the idea of kitchen parties comes from the Western world. Kapwepwe (2006) asserts that what is known as a kitchen party in Zambia is a combination of elements of the Western 'bridal shower' and 'hen party', embellished with indigenous cultural marriage practices. There are variations in the organisation and proceedings of the kitchen party

ceremonies. However, from the analysis of 20 recordings and explanations from research participants it is clear that there are certain main features that stand out as consistent and common to all kitchen parties, which include the entry procession, opening prayer, unveiling of *nabwinga*, Christian teaching in marriage, the feast, presentation of gifts and the exit procession.

Nabwinga is customarily led into the celebration arena. This procession usually includes on the average four people (*nabwinga* plus three *bana chimbusa*), who form a single file with *nabwinga* placed either in second or third place. As they move, *nabwinga* places both her hands on the shoulders of the *nachimbusa* in front of her with both of her arms bent as she leans forwards. The rest of the members of the procession do the same to the person in front of them. All of them are covered under one *chitenge* cloth (Zambian fabric), and they proceed forward taking small steps. As the procession makes a gallant entry to their sitting place, the invited guests ululate and sing songs with drum accompaniment (see Chapter 6 on the accompanying DVD).⁴ The analysis revealed that in the majority of kitchen parties, as *nabwinga's* procession approaches the prepared sitting place for them, they kneel down and start crawling (all still covered under the *chitenge* cloth) until they reach the specially prepared and well-decorated location. The common features or arrangements for *nabwinga's* sitting place includes a tent, in which a reed mat (*ubutanda*) is placed covered with a small carpet and a cushion placed in the centre for *nabwinga* to sit on. If the kitchen party is taking place indoors, a tent will not be necessary, but all the rest is the same.

⁴ There are specific songs designated for this activity, but selected examples from the reviewed recordings are based on their popularity as entrance songs (from 12 out of 20 reviews). For the examples of these songs refer to Appendix I. Chapter 6 on the accompanying DVD shows change in the way entry processions are performed at Kitchen Parties.

Plate 4.1 *Nabwinga* covered in *chitenge* cloth during the entry procession (© Lumbwe 2006)



Immediately after the entry procession the Matron (who is the mistress of ceremonies) announces the programme of the ceremonies and then invites a specially selected elder to bless the occasion with a prayer (see Chapter 4 on the accompanying DVD).

The ceremony of unveiling *nabwinga* is performed in two stages: firstly, *nabwinga* is presented with a bouquet of flowers and a token gift of money; secondly, the *chitenge* cloth covering *nabwinga* is removed completely. During the 1970s and 1980s the unveiling of *nabwinga* was performed by a selected female representative from *shibwinga*'s family (see Chapter 9 on the accompanying DVD). However, from the 1990s it has become common practice for *shibwinga* himself to unveil *nabwinga*. According to Kapotwe (2006), *shibwinga* is expected to appear before the celebrants and personally perform the unveiling ceremony because of the growing tendency among young women who want to collect kitchen utensils under false pretences. Kapotwe continues that the appearance of *shibwinga* at his *nabwinga*'s kitchen party serves as his introduction to the public and also as proof that *nabwinga* truly has a *shibwinga*. In contrast, Kapwepwe (2006) argues that the idea of a public presentation of

shibwinga at a kitchen party is really not necessary as his female relatives are supposed to attend the ceremonies to represent him. In addition, Mutale (2006) points out that before a kitchen party could be organised, there are prior marriage ceremonies, such as *ukusonga* and *ukukobekela*, where *shibwinga* and *nabwinga* are introduced to both families, though at very private and exclusive ceremonies.

Plate 4.2 *Nabwinga* before being unveiled (© Lumbwe 2006)



Plate 4.3 *Nabwinga* after being unveiled revealing her token gift of flowers (© Lumbwe 2006)



A specially selected elder is asked to present the lesson by firstly quoting a bible passage and then exemplifying the reading by situating it in the Zambian context. An outstanding lesson, as an example, is drawn from a kitchen party held in Kitwe in 2006. Here Mrs Chawama combined her biblical lesson with that on hygiene, care for the home and family, and general organisation of a home. Mrs Chawama used the word ‘WOMAN’ to interpret the role of a wife in marriage: **W** (welcoming and warm) **O** (organiser of the home) **MAN** (manager of the home – and **N** also stands for nurse – to care for the husband and children).

The lesson is concluded with a song.

After the lesson and song, invited guests are served with food and drinks. A continuous service of drinks is maintained throughout the celebrations (from the time the kitchen party starts until it ends) by specially appointed waitresses who go round where the guests are seated. Food is served from a specially set table where guests are expected to queue to be served. The common foods served at kitchen parties include roast chicken, roast beef, chicken and beer stews, rice, pasta (macaroni and/or spaghetti), Irish potatoes (boiled, chips and/or as salad), vegetable salad and cakes. The common drinks served at kitchen parties include Fanta, Coca cola, Sprite, and beers (Mosi, Rhino and Castle), as well as a specially prepared cocktail punch, which is a mixture of juice, fruits and liquor.

During the feast the common practice is to accompany the celebrations with recorded music played by a DJ on hi-fi equipment. The type of background music and the actual selections played are not standard, but selected at the discretion of the party organisers (see Chapter 15 on the accompanying DVD).

This presentation of gifts is divided into three sections, namely presentation of family gifts, presentation of gifts from friends and, finally, the presentation of tokens by *nabwinga* to her mother, mother-in-law and the matron (see Chapters 12, 13, 18 and 24 on the accompanying DVD).

Nabwinga is presented with gifts from her family and her *shibwinga*. A specially selected family representative, together with the matron, take her to the place where the gifts are displayed and then each item is shown to her with an explanation of how it is used and cared for. The gifts presented usually include the following kitchen utensils and equipment: sets of

pots, plates (dinner sets), drinking glasses, baking utensils, tea pots, electric kettles, pressing irons, juice mixers, blending machines, fridge, cooker, washing machine, brooms, kitchen towels etc. and indigenous kitchen utensils (*icheswa* – broom, *inongo* – clay pot, *umuseke* – basket, *ulupe* – winnowing basket, *ibende* – mortar, *umwinshi* – pestle, *ubutanda* – reed mat, *ulukasu* – hoe, *imbabula* – brazier, etc.). As the presentation is going on, the guests sing and dance. In some cases, instead of guests singing, recorded music is played by a DJ and the guests dance. Once the presentation is over, *nabwinga* is led back to her sitting place for the next presentation ceremony.

Plate 4.4 Display of gifts presented to *nabwinga* by her family and that of *shibwinga* (© Lumbwe 2006)



Plate 4.5 Selected family representatives, far left and far right, present the gifts to *nabwinga* (in this case *icheswa*, the indigenous broom). Next to *nabwinga* is the matron standing second from left. (© Lumbwe 2006)



Individuals are invited to come before *nabwinga*, one by one, to present their gifts of kitchen utensils. This presentation is done by each individual, who comes forward, sings and interprets a marriage song (helped by all in attendance) as well as explaining how the utensil presented should be used. The gift is unwrapped and shown to everybody before the presentation. This process continues until all those with gifts have presented them to *nabwinga*.

After receiving all her gifts, *nabwinga* is led by the matron to present tokens of appreciation to her mother, mother-in-law, and the matron. Two chairs are placed in the centre of the performance arena, in full view of all the guests, where both *nabwinga*'s mother and mother-in-law sit. *Nabwinga* and the matron crawl on their knees till they reach the parents and present her gifts (after each presentation, *nabwinga* has to perform *ukulamba*⁵ before proceeding to do the next). After that *nabwinga* presents her token to the matron and likewise

⁵ Lit. to become dirty; in this case it is used to show the Bemba act of lying down on the ground on one's side and clapping hands, and then roll to the other side and clapping hands again as a gesture for showing respect to someone.

she will perform *ukulamba* after her presentation. Of the 20 kitchen party recordings, the gifts presented to the parents and the matrons were cakes. Furthermore, the presentation of gifts to parents serves as a form of introducing them to the invited guests.

Plate 4.6 *Nabwinga* presenting a cake (as a token of appreciation) to the matron who is seated on the bottom left (though she is not in full view). *Nabwinga* is escorted by one of the organising committee members. (© Lumbwe 2006)



After the closing prayer, presented by a specially selected guest, *nabwinga's* delegation is customarily led out in procession, in a similar manner as they entered, except that this time the crawling part is omitted. Although *nabwinga's* departure signals the end of the kitchen party, it is common practice for some guests to remain behind for a while, singing and dancing, or dancing to recorded music.

With regards to the musical arts utilised at the kitchen party ceremonies, Mutale (2006) points out that the trend from the early post-independence times, around the late 1960s until the early 1980s, has been that indigenous music and instruments (drums) have played a prominent role in imparting the lessons to *nabwinga* and other participants, and also for entertainment purposes. Mutale continues that many songs and dances performed at kitchen parties were drawn from different Bemba *chisungu* and *ubwinga* ceremonies. However, a drastic shift from the use of indigenous music to the inclusion of Christian church songs, such as the Catholic

style known as *buomba*, could be noticed from the late 1980s and grew more prominent, along with songs from Pentecostal churches as well. Kapwepwe (2006) notes that the shift in the utilisation of indigenous music was not the only change in the celebration of kitchen parties. Another major change was the exclusion of alcoholic drinks as these are against Christian churches' teachings and beliefs. On this issue Kapotwe (2006) points out that some people still include alcohol at their kitchen parties, while others do not. Kapotwe adds that the result has been the division of kitchen party formats into two types: (a) the 'Christian kitchen party' and (b) the 'non-Christian kitchen party'. The issue of the presence of alcohol at kitchen parties has been so contentious that many husbands do not favour the idea of their wives attending these ceremonies (Mukolongo 1999). According to Sinjela (2006), some women drink so much beer at kitchen parties that they end up behaving indecently, and the result has been that the continued display of immoral behaviour has led to the condemnation of kitchen parties as a whole. Mutale (2006), an ordained minister in the United Church of Zambia, asserts that in order to alleviate the problem and confusion in the organisation of kitchen parties the following should be considered:

- Removal of Bemba or even other indigenous elements included in the kitchen party ceremonies because of clashes in belief systems; furthermore, most kitchen party organisers are not qualified *nachimbusa* and hence their knowledge of the culture and traditions is very shallow, resulting in misinterpretation of rituals and indigenous practices;
- Separation of the instructions on how women should look after their homes from the celebrations, as combining these two does not allow for enough time for detailed and well-organised practical lessons and demonstrations.
- Engaging highly knowledgeable and reputable *bana chimbusa* to spend time with *nabwinga* at a specially selected home, where practical and theoretical lessons could be conducted. This programme should not be restricted to a single day, but should last as long as the lessons to be taught require. This way *nabwinga* will be given a chance to absorb and digest the knowledge being imparted as the lessons are more systematically organised and presented. For example: the Chibesakunda family of Lusaka organised instructions of this nature and the event was very successful. *Nabwinga* was taken to a selected home where *bana chimbusa* took turns to give her lessons starting from the interior of the house (covering all the rooms such as kitchen, sitting-room, bathroom, bedrooms, etc.) and ending with the exterior (covering the yard and gardens). Here each room had a specific *na chimbusa* to give instructions supported by the others. The mode of instructions was through the use of practical demonstrations which included commentaries. The particular class lasted for three days, after which a party was organised for fiends and relatives to present their gifts.

With regards to Mutale's model, Kambole (2003) notes that it is in conformity with the Bemba indigenous way of training *nabwinga* to look after a home. Kambole further notes that

in the early days what is supposedly claimed to be achieved by a kitchen party was the responsibility of *nabwinda's* mother, aunts and elder sisters, who formed some sort of 'domestic club' where household chores were done together at *nabwinda's* parents' home. During this time even essential kitchen utensils and agrarian implements were given to *nabwinda* to assist her in starting her home. Furthermore, such 'domestic clubs' could even last until such a time as the newly married couple had their first child (within a year or less) (Fulanshi, 2003). The source of contention is not only the mixing of Western elements (bridal shower elements) and indigenous elements (marriage traditions and customs), but also the mixing of elements from the Bemba with those from other ethnic groups within Zambia. On this issue Chinyanta (2002) suggests that, since there are variations and differences in belief systems among ethnic groups in the country, it would be more effective to be consistent in the use of methods of instruction and materials to aid in the teaching. Hence a kitchen party should follow the appropriate language and ethnic cultural and indigenous elements. In the same vein Kasonde (1953), Mushindo (1957), Musapu and Mpashi (1962), Kambole (1980) and Kapwepwe (1994) assert that knowledge of language goes beyond mere communication, but also facilitates the transmission of morals, traditions and culture. Furthermore, interpretation of marriage instructions is done through a language, and therefore the use of one's mother tongue will enable them to grasp the ideas easily.

With regards to the utilisation of the musical arts and other components of IKS, Ilunga (2002) points out that, because of the application of songs and dances out of their context, and the lack of depth in the use of proverbs and sayings as a medium of instruction, the musical arts only serve entertainment purposes. Kapwepwe (2006) shares this view and notes that the selection of Bemba marriage songs at kitchen parties, is so random that in most instances the text and meaning of the song do not correlate with the activity and lesson being taught. Chinyanta (2002) continues that during indigenous Bemba marriage ceremonies, the musical arts are carefully selected and utilised, ensuring that elements such as song texts, dance movements and actions, and in some cases props correspond with each other as well as the ritual being performed, so that a clear meaning could be drawn from the activity. The musical arts serve as reinforcement to the concepts being taught, while at the same time aiding the process of memorisation considering that the lessons follow the oral tradition.

Referring to the selection of kitchen party participants, Kangwa (2006) feels that the inclusion of young girls and males (who usually attend as professional photographers, DJs, video

makers and caterers) defeats the whole indigenous Bemba philosophy of empowering the initiated females with privileged knowledge. Kangwa continues that lack of control over participants has resulted in kitchen parties losing their purpose and essence.

4.2.3 *Ichilangamulilo*

The Bemba believe in customary presentation of food to a son-in-law to show respect accorded to him. Such ceremonies are known as *amatebeto* ('honouring'; *ukutebeta* 'to honour'). When different dishes of food are customarily presented to a son-in-law, to honour and give him a taste of what cooking he should expect from his fiancée, this act is known as *ichilangamulilo* (Lumbwe, 2004:97). Nowadays the term *amatebeto* has been widely used when referring to *ichilangamulilo*. According to Chitwansombo (2006), this is a misconception that is the result of people from other ethnic groups from within the country who have adopted the Bemba tradition, but have not fully understood its meaning. To illustrate the difference between *amatebeto* and *ichilangamulilo* Chinkumwa (1997) points out that both ceremonies are a form of food offering to a son-in-law, but the difference lies in the purpose and manner in which the ceremony is conducted. *Ukutebeta* could be done at any stage in the marriage process and as many times as deemed fit by the family offering (this usually starts as soon as *ukukobekela* negotiations have been concluded, and this can be done in appreciation of the son-in-law's service to the family, to celebrate the birth of a child or during the time of the *ukwingisha* ceremony), while *ichilangamulilo* is presented once, and this happens before the wedding ceremonies are held. Furthermore, *ukutebeta* is a very private affair and usually involves the presentation of a dish of *ubwali* and *inkoko* (chicken). This ceremony does not involve singing and dancing. However, *ichilangamulilo* is an elaborate public function that involves the presentation of many different dishes of food including marriage instructions through songs, dances and miming. A broad outline of *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies appears in Appendix J. For further information on *ichilangamulilo*, see Lumbwe (2004:97–102; 212–222).

Over the years in the post-independence period there have been variations in the organisation and presentation of *ichilangamulilo*. According to Mwela (2003), there has been a growing trend in the utilisation of the lawn (gardens) outside the yard of a house as opposed to the living-room inside the house, thereby rendering a restricted activity to become a more accessible function even to those below the age of participation or attendance. Mwela further points out that such a development has also contributed to the discarding of certain elements

of the ceremony, such as the one performed at the entrance of the house with the song ‘*Twingile shani ee*’ (lit. How should we enter?),⁶ which loses meaning and essence as there is nowhere to enter when you are outside. In addition, *bana chimbusa* presenting the food are inhibited from performing certain songs, dances and mimes for fear of divulging privileged information.

With regards to the musical arts, Chitwansombo (2006) notes that very few Bemba in the cities and towns can play the drum patterns correctly to accompany marriage songs or even sing most of the songs within the whole repertoire of marriage songs. As a result, what has been played to accompany the songs and dances are mere drum rhythms from other genres or sometimes even from other ethnic musical cultures, as long as people can sing and dance to it. Mwela (2003) continues that there is a growing tendency to use a limited repertoire of songs for ceremonies like *ichilangamulilo*, so that the songs seem to be the standard set for the ceremony.

On the one hand, Mwela’s observation could be attributed to many people’s limited exposure to indigenous marriage instruction songs. On the other hand, there are ‘companies’ that have been formed to conduct the duties of *bana chimbusa*, and these are hired to organise different indigenous marriage ceremonies such as *ukufunda*, *amatebeto*, *ichilangamulilo*, *ubwina*, *ukwingisha* and also kitchen parties. As Kangwa (2006) observes, these ‘companies’ that organise marriage ceremonies have been hired by many families, resulting in their way of conducting and the content of marriage instructions being adopted as the standard generally. There have been mixed feelings towards the commercialisation of indigenous marriage institution. Organisations such as the Kola Foundation Trust, *Ukusefya pa Ng’wena* Committee and *Mutomboko* Committee have discouraged the idea of engaging ‘companies’ to organise marriage ceremonies, as these groups perpetuate the marginalisation of Bemba cultural and indigenous practices because they demand huge sums of money for their services, but do not actually perform as is expected of them. However, Mwesa (2007) insists that it is better to make use of ‘companies’ to organise and conduct marriage instructions than to allow a total collapse. Mwesa continues that families in Lusaka and the Copperbelt have resorted to hiring ‘companies’ to take charge of conducting marriage instructions on their behalf, because very few families at present have elderly members knowledgeable enough in such matters.

⁶ As the song ‘*Twingile shani ee*’ is being sung, the visitors bringing the food to *shibwina* are supposed to enter the house walking backwards facing outside of the house.

From interviews with learners from Lake Road School, Munali Girls, Munali Boys, Kabulonga Boys, and Kabulonga Girls High Schools in Lusaka what emerged strongly was that they preferred that their culture and traditions be taught to them by someone closely related to them and preferably from their village. One of the learners, Mwape Kabungo,⁷ attributed the confusion of whose role it is to impart IK (indigenous knowledge) to the break in kinship ties between those living in the cities and those living in the rural areas. Kabungo continues that in the cities today very few youths are afforded a chance to visit their relatives in the villages, or vice versa, and the blame is placed on the modern parents who are born and raised in the city.

There has been significant change in the type of food (dishes) and drinks presented at *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies nowadays. Mumpuka (2007) observes that in the early days what was presented at marriage ceremonies was all food and drinks available in each village. However, in the post-independence period there has been an inclusion of foods from other parts of Zambia and the world, which are obtained from stores and markets in the urban centres. Mumpuka further observes that there is nothing wrong in including foods from elsewhere, as long what is eaten in that particular community is presented in customary ways. The same applies to the drinks; in the pre-colonial days traditional beer (*Katata*, *Katubi*, *Chipumu* and *Munkoyo* a non-alcoholic drink) was available. At present other commercial drinks such as Fanta, Coca Cola, Sprite and alcoholic drinks such as Mosi Lager, Rhino Lager and Castle Lager have been included as part of the *ichilangamulilo* menu, and are more favoured than the traditional ones. Comparatively speaking, people in Lusaka (but not on the Copperbelt) have started combining *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies with ‘*braai*’⁸ (barbeque) parties, though not yet on a large scale. Kambafwile (2008) indicates that *shibwinga*’s family may buy beef, chicken and pork, and prepare *braai* stands so that after the *ichilangamulilo* presentation of food, the feasting is conducted in a barbeque party format with food also provided for the guests by *shibwinga*’s family. This development, as Kangwa (2006) points out, is on the one hand a display of high status to the community by the parents of *shibwinga* or hosting relative; on the other hand, it is because some families tend to invite a larger

⁷ This is a fictional name for the pupil, who requested that his true identity not be revealed. His sentiments represent those of the other pupils from the same school.

⁸ ‘*Braai*’ is an Afrikaans word that has been adopted by Zambians to indicate ‘barbecue’.

number of guests, so that the food presented by *nabwinga*'s family is not sufficient to feed all the invited guests.

With regards to participation at *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies, nowadays there are no restrictions imposed, so that even teenagers and those not yet at a marriageable age are allowed to attend. Mutale (2006) asserts that in the pre-colonial era there were restrictions with regards to attendance of certain marriage ceremonies as every participant was expected to contribute in the form of marriage instructions to the couple to be married. Some of the disparities in the general organisation and application of certain elements of *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies could be attributed to the fact that ethnic groups other than the Bemba have also adopted the *ichilangamulilo* tradition. This is evident especially in situations that involve inter-ethnic marriages and the family of *nabwinga* is not Bemba speaking, but are expected to arrange *ichilangamulilo* for *shibwinga*. Mwango (1996) suggests that in a situation like this it would be more appropriate to (a) either admit to *shibwinga*'s family (by *nabwinga*'s family) that, since it is not within their traditions and cultural practices from their ethnic group, they could be exempted from conducting *ichilangamulilo*; or b) seek assistance from the experienced Bemba *bana chimbusa* to organise the ceremony for them. Following Mwango's suggestion, the idea would work to a certain extent when it involves ethnic groups from within Zambia, but the real problem lies in finding ways to deal with a situation where people from outside the country (within Africa and from other races) are involved. Kalale (2007) points out that it is possible to conduct *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies in the accepted indigenous way, even in mixed marriages, when *nabwinga* is Bemba and *shibwinga* comes from anywhere else. A situation where *nabwinga* comes from outside the country and *shibwinga* is Bemba would not be feasible.

Plate 4.7 Bringing food for *ichilangamulilo* (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.8 Food display before presentation (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.9 Uncovering the dishes
(© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.10 Presenting the food to *shibwinga*
(© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.11 ‘Braing’ a pig
(© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.12 ‘Braing’ chicken
(© Lumbwe 2007)



4.2.4 Church ceremony

Church wedding ceremonies vary from denomination to denomination, but they have certain sacraments that are consistent in all Christian churches in Zambia. Kondolo (2008) points out that priests conduct wedding services according to the guidelines provided by the Christian faith, but there are variations at the discretion of particular priests or pastors, which affects the order of performance of certain rites. With regards to the musical arts, the selection of songs and dance steps (for entrance and exit processions) is left to the couple, who need the final approval from the priest in charge of the wedding service). In this regard the description

outlined in this research is not specific to a particular denomination (for example, Catholic, United Church of Zambia), but is a representation of common sacraments that are peculiar to Christian churches in Lusaka and the Copperbelt.⁹

The Christian wedding service consists of three components: the entry, liturgy ('service' in the vernacular) and the exit.

The entry proceeds as follows:

- *Shibwinga's* party makes its entry into the church without any processional display;
- *Nabwinga's* maids (*inshindishi*) make their entry with a choreographed dance step accompanied by recorded gospel music (this piece is usually selected by the maids themselves and not the priest in charge);
- *Nabwinga*, escorted by her father or representative, makes her entry to a simple dance step accompanied by the traditional Western wedding march 'Here comes the bride' (this could either be played by an organist or a recording could be played). When *nabwinga* reaches the front of the chapel close to the altar, she is handed over to *shibwinga* by her father or representative. The couple are positioned right in front of the whole congregation flanked by the chief best man next to *shibwinga* and the chief bridesmaid next to *nabwinga*.

⁹ The researcher attended weddings from both Catholic, Protestant and Pentecostal churches.

Plate 4.13 *Nabwinda* being escorted into church by her father or guardian (© Lumbwe K 2007)



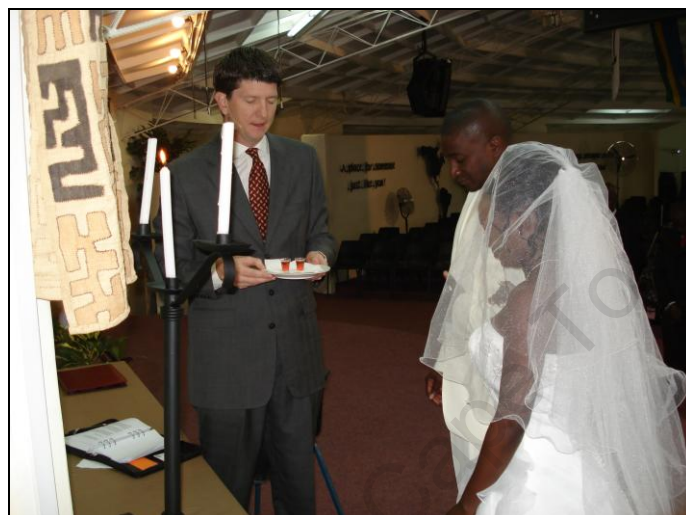
The order of the wedding service (liturgy) is as follows: the wedding service is usually opened with a prayer from the celebrating priest, who also reads a passage from the Bible. In some cases the reading is done by selected members of the bridal party (either chief best man or chief bridesmaid). The priest is also responsible for delivering the sermon during which he reinforces Christian teachings on marriage. After the sermon, the couple makes their marriage vows and present rings (wedding bands) to each other.

Plate 4.14 *Nabwinda* and *shibwinda* make marriage vows (© Lumbwe K 2007)



Once the couple exchanges vows and rings, the priest pronounces the couple as husband and wife. *Shibwinga* is then asked to unveil *nabwinga* and the priest requests *shibwinga* to kiss *nabwinga*. This is followed by the priest preparing, blessing and giving out Holy Communion. The couple receives Holy Communion first, followed by the bridal party and then to the rest of the congregation (invited guests).

Plate 4.15 *Nabwinga* and *shibwinga* receiving Holy Communion during their church service
(© Lumbwe K 2007)

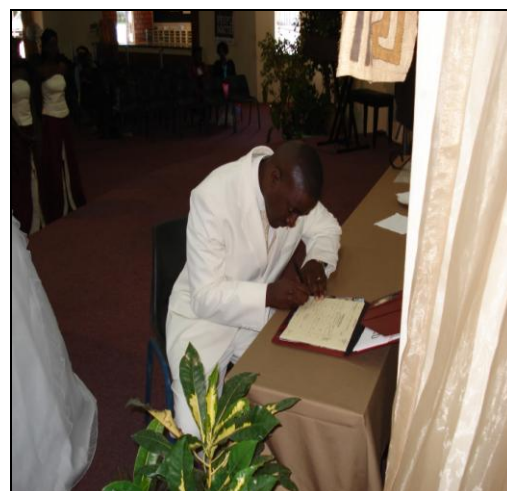


After receiving Holy Communion, the couple are presented with the marriage record book and certificate, which they have to sign together with their witnesses and the celebrating priest.

Plate 4.16 *Nabwinga* signs the record book
(© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.17 *Shibwinga* signs the record book
(© Lumbwe 2007)



Once they have signed the book, the priest formally presents the newly wed as Mr and Mrs So-and-so to the congregation.

Once the service has been concluded with a closing prayer presented by a selected member from the gathering, the bridal party leaves the church with a choreographed dance step led by the newly wedded couple (the procession is accompanied by a selected recorded gospel piece of their choice). It is customary for the invited guests to spend a bit of time taking pictures with the couple before they disperse.

4.2.5 Photograph session

Soon after the church service the bridal party together with their parents proceed to a selected venue for a photograph shoot, usually done by professional photographers who are hired by the couple. After the photograph shoot it is customary for the bridal party to go to pre-arranged venue for lunch where they would stay until it is time for them to go to their wedding reception (commonly known as the 'reception').

Plate 4.18 Photograph session a (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.19 Photograph session b (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.20 Photograph session c (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.21 Photograph session d (© Lumbwe 2007)



4.2.6 White wedding reception

There are variations in the white wedding reception programmes, but in this study what has been adopted are the common elements from 25 wedding receptions attended by the researcher,¹⁰ 10 recorded tapes reviewed, and descriptions provided by research subjects interviewed during the course of this study. As stated when describing other ceremonies such as the kitchen party and church service, the order of activities is usually determined by the organising committee and also the Master of Ceremonies (commonly referred to as the MC) in charge. The duration of the wedding reception is predetermined by the events on the programme, and the food and drinks budgeted for the ceremony, and usually lasts between three to four-and-half hours. The length of each individual item of the programme is at the MC's discretion. White wedding receptions are held at venues of the couple's choice, and the event could either be in-doors or out-doors. Furthermore, throughout this study the term 'reception' will be used instead of 'white wedding reception' in full since this is the term commonly used in Lusaka and the Copperbelt.

The wedding reception is ordered as follows:

- The entry of bridal party (see Chapters 28 and 33 on accompanying DVD)
- Opening prayer (see Chapter 31 on accompanying DVD)
- Introduction of the bridal party
- Serving of drinks to the guests
- Presentation of speeches

¹⁰ This refers to the white wedding receptions that the researchers attended from 1984 to 2008 in Lusaka and the Copperbelt (Kitwe, Ndola and Mufulira).

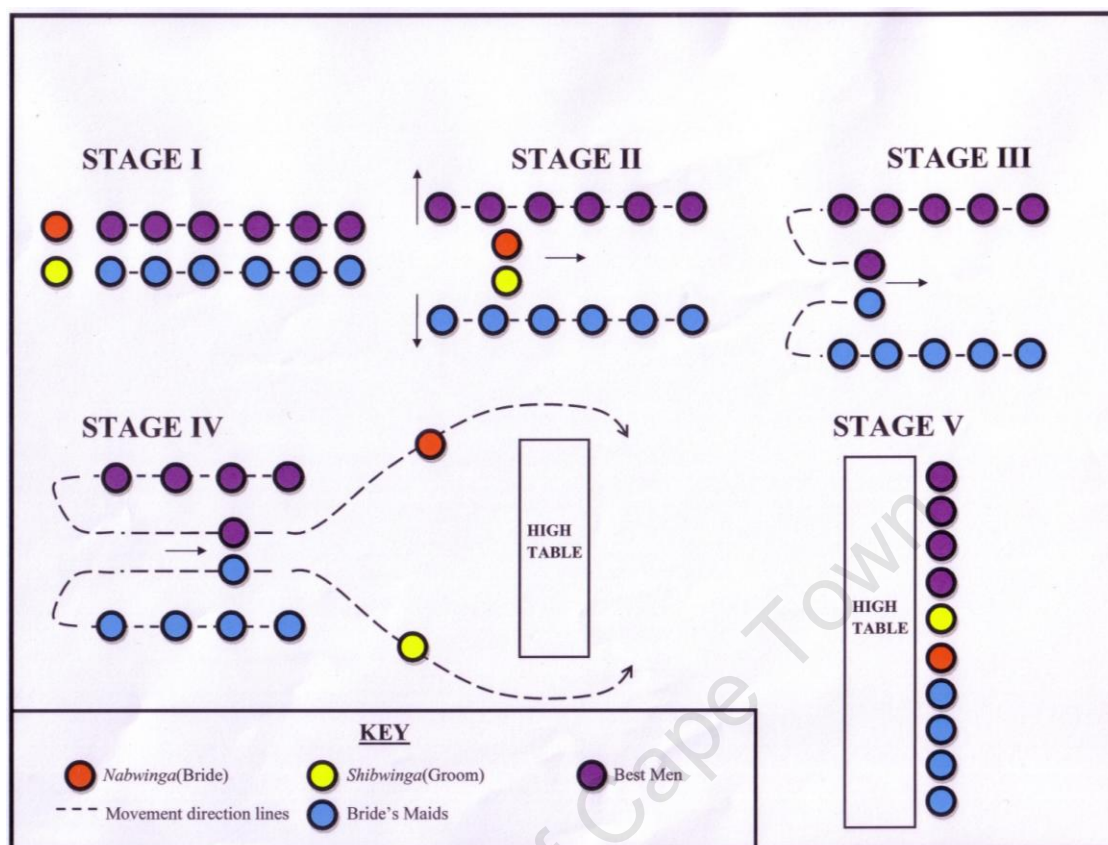
- Cutting of the wedding cake (see Chapter 39 on accompanying DVD)
- Opening of the dance floor by the bride and groom and general dancing for all in attendance (see Chapter 43–44 on accompanying DVD)
- Proposing a toast
- Serving of food (see Chapter 35 on accompanying DVD)
- Presentation of the gifts
- Exit of the bridal party (see Chapter 50 on accompanying DVD).

A discussion of each of the above activities of the wedding reception follows in chronological order.

The bridal party enters the reception hall with choreographed dance routine(s) to the accompaniment of either selected recorded music or a live performance by a hired band. As the bridal party procession displays their dance(s), family members do the customary *ukusebelela* or *ukusowelela*,¹¹ a Bemba way of encouraging performers by ululating and briefly joining in the dance in a way that is not disruptive to the performers (see Chapter 28 and 33 on the accompanying DVD). The following is an example of the formation of routine dances performed during the entry procession:

¹¹ An act of moving in and out of the performance space by some members of the audience, while dancing and ululating, to encourage the main performers.

Figure 4.1 Formation of the routine dances performed during entry at wedding receptions¹²



The master of ceremonies (MC) invites a selected guest to deliver the opening prayer after the bridal party has settled at the 'high table' which has been reserved for them (see Chapter 31 on the accompanying DVD). Introduction of each of the members of the bridal party, by the MC, follows after the prayer.

Guests are served with a drink at the request of the MC, who at this point keeps the gathering entertained with jokes and also allows for background music to be played. At this point the MC may also make necessary announcements specific to the programme of events for the afternoon.¹³

¹² The example provided represents the basic formation for routine dance displays performed during the entry procession at wedding receptions. However, different couples add variations to these displays depending on the discretion of the choreographer.

¹³ Though it is common practice that wedding receptions are held in the afternoons, some families prefer to hold theirs in the evening. In such a case it means that the reception will be combined with the aftermath and the function takes a different format. A dinner arrangement involving the serving of a hot meal instead of snacks is common.

Parents or their representatives from *nabwinga*'s family and that of *shibwinga* are respectively invited to present their speeches, which are commonly referred to as 'words of wisdom'. For examples of some of the speeches presented at wedding ceremonies refer to Appendix K.

Nabwinga and *shibwinga* are invited to the table where the cake is displayed and are led by the matron of honour (who is simply referred to as 'matron'). Before the cake is cut, the knife is customarily presented to the couple (by a little girl, commonly referred to as the 'knife girl' of average age 6 to 8 years), who emerges from any point within the reception hall. To the accompaniment of selected music, the knife girl performs either a choreographed or freestyle dance until she presents the knife to the couple (see Chapter 39 on the accompanying DVD).

After the presentation of the knife, *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*, assisted by the matron, cut the cake and thereafter feed each other with a small piece. To conclude the ceremony *shibwinga* is expected to kiss *nabwinga* before taking their seats.

The bridesmaids then take the different layers of cake to be prepared for serving the guests. This is done in procession to a choreographed dance step accompanied by selected music.

Once the cake is ready for serving, *nabwinga* and *shibwinga* are asked to serve pieces of cake to their parents only. The rest of the guests are served at a later stage in the celebrations (the common practice is to serve guests during the presentation of gifts to the couple towards the end of the reception).

Nabwinga and *shibwinga* are invited by the MC to open the dance floor. The couple usually dance in the centre of the dance floor for a short while (approximately two to three minutes) and then they are joined by the bridal party, who usually do a choreographed dance routine. The accompanying music is selected by the couple and it is slow and romantic to allow for slow dancing.

This ceremony is performed by the chief best man, who presents a short speech before popping a bottle of Champaign, which he serves to the bridal party at the high table. Then everybody in attendance is asked to rise to their feet as the chief best man proposes the toast to the newly-weds (everybody customarily touch their glasses of drinks with those of the other guests near to them and then take a sip of their drink).

At this point in the programme the guests are served with a pack containing an assortment of snacks (such as a piece of roast or fried chicken, piece of roast or fried beef chop, potato chips and vegetable salads), and also drinks (alcoholic such as Mosi lager, Rhino lager, Castle lager, Amstel lager, wines etc.; and non-alcoholic such as Coca Cola, Fanta and Sprite).¹⁴ As the food is being served by selected caterers, who go round giving out food packs to individuals, the guests are free to take to the dance floor and dance to the music provided either by a band or DJ. A hot meal could be served as a buffet or guests are served at their tables.

Plate 4.22 Buffet (© Lumbwe 2007)



Presentation of gifts is done by guests queuing from one end of the high table, walking in front of it, while congratulating all the members of the bridal party with a handshake. After congratulating everybody at the high table, the guests would hand their gifts to the matron, who in turn offers them a slice of the wedding cake. The whole presentation ceremony is accompanied by musical selections, played one after the other, until the last person presents their gift.

To conclude the ceremony, the bridal party makes a grand exit with a choreographed sequence of dance steps (as family and guests do the act of *ukusebelela*) (see Chapter 50 on

¹⁴ The examples of snacks and drinks provided here do not represent a prescribed or standard offered at every wedding reception. Instead the examples are meant to give the reader an idea of what sort of snacks and drinks that are served at wedding receptions. Variation in the type and quantities of snacks and drinks should be expected. However, the provided menu is very common to most weddings.

accompanying DVD). After that the guests take their leave at their own convenience (and this marks the end of the reception).

Variations are not only found in the sequence of events on the wedding programme, but also in the following:

- The size of the bridal party (number of people who constitute the bridal party): firstly, the standard is that besides *nabwanga* and *shibwanga* there have to be bridesmaids, best men, and flower girl(s) and page boy(s) plus a matron. Secondly, the common combinations include: (a) numbers ranging from two each up to ten each for the bridesmaids and best men; and (b) either one or two each for the flower girl and pageboy; while c) there is only one matron. Thirdly, though very rare, some couples prefer not to have best men and bridesmaids, but will have flower girl, page boy and a matron.
- The number of choreographed dance steps and routines: some people may opt to have one dance routine for their entrance and exit processions. Others may combine two to three or even four dance routines for both. In between events dance steps may be included for the taking away of the cake (by bride's maids), opening of the floor and presentation of the knife. The number of dance routines and steps also goes with accompanying music, which may change according to each dance routine or may remain the same throughout.
- Serving of the cake: this may be done soon after the cutting ceremony or at the end of the presentation of gifts to the couple.
- Accompanying music: this is either provided by a live band or DJ (playing recorded music on disco equipment). The band or DJ is free to play their own selections, but for certain ceremonies, the couple requests specific pieces to be played. In some cases when a DJ provides music, a guest performer may also be included to do a karaoke (sing along to pre-recorded instrumental music). Selections come from local contemporary music and also from foreign recordings (including other parts of Africa, especially Congo DR, South Africa and Cameroon, from USA, Brazil, Jamaica and Europe). However, the trend followed is to include those pieces of music that are popular at that time on the Zambian music scene.

Plate 4.23 A DJ playing music at a wedding reception (© Lumbwe 2007)



The dressing of the members of the bridal party: the usual dress code for *nabwinga* is a white wedding gown with a veil, while *shibwinga*'s is any colour Western style two- or three-piece suit. The bridesmaids' dresses vary in design and are usually made from different fabrics (foreign or local fabrics of different colours and prints are utilised). The best men usually dress in Western-style two-piece or three-piece suits. The matron and the flower girl usually have their own design, which is different from that of the bridesmaids'. The page boy dresses exactly as the best men.

Plate 4.24 *Nabwinga* flanked by bridesmaids and the matron in the far right (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 4.25 *Shibwinga* flanked by his best men (© Lumbwe 2007)



Out of 25 receptions the researcher attended, five included performances of indigenous music by a cultural dance troupe from a nearby township. The inclusion of indigenous dance troupes did not entail performing throughout the ceremonies; at most the group would be offered two slots in the programme to perform two pieces.

With regards to the current trend in organising receptions, Kangwa (2006), who has been MC at several weddings in Lusaka, observes that from the 1960s up to the late 1980s, when parents were fully involved in making wedding arrangements, there was strict adherence to Western-style requirements, but also to the inclusion of indigenous elements of marriage instruction such as singing and dancing accompanied by drum beating, clapping and ululating. Kangwa states that this trend has changed in current times; parents are being sidelined to an extent that their role ends at the marriage negotiation level. As a result of this, according to Kangwa, there have been situations where young couples who, to avoid parental involvement, hire guests to attend their receptions and other ceremonies.

4.2.7 *Ukupanga ichuupo* (Consummation of marriage)

Details of what happens during the consummation ceremony will not be provided in this study because of the fear of divulging privileged information which is intended only for initiated Bemba people. In dealing with secrecy, a good deal of time was spent on critical negotiations with the elders and members of the Bemba Royal Establishment in which verbal contracts of confidentiality were first agreed upon; this process gives an indication of the complexity of the data-collection process. In the current format of wedding ceremonies the consummation ceremony is conducted privately sometime between the end of the reception and the wedding aftermath.¹⁵ According to Mukolongo (1999) the usual practice in conducting the consummation ceremony is to take *nabwinga* and *shibwinga* to a specially selected venue, where selected *bana chimbusa* and *shibukombe* facilitate the proceedings (marriage instructions). Mukolongo continues that after the consummation ceremony has been performed, the couple are free to go and attend the aftermath ceremony. In its private setting the consummation ceremony loses certain important elements, such as giving instructions through singing and dancing and also announcing commencement of the wedding festivities. Mutale (2006) notes that certain venues selected for the consummation ceremony do not

¹⁵ Since this ceremony is commonly known as the 'aftermath'; this will be used term instead of the 'wedding reception aftermath'.

allow for loud activities (venues such as hotels and guest houses have been used for the consummation ceremony). Kondolo (2008) adds that there are, however, couples who oppose consummation ceremonies under the pretext of following Christian beliefs.¹⁶

4.2.8 The aftermath

The aftermath is a night party that follows the reception. The party takes place at a selected venue (which could include private homes, restaurants, guesthouses, sports clubs and hotels), where invited guests meet. In terms of organisation and setting of the aftermath, Mukupa (2007) observes that there is strict order of programme to show the sequence of events, as it is a semi-informal event. Guests are served with food and drinks, and are free to mingle with each other. Kangwa (2006) adds that what stands out as a prominent feature at these parties is that an MC is engaged to announce the opening of the dance floor, proposing of a toast and in some isolated cases introduces short speech(es) from the couple's close friends. The aftermath is usually intended to be a celebration for the couple, family members and friends of their age group. The music played at these parties includes a collection of popular hits of the time. Mukupa (2007) notes that from the 13 parties he has attended, none included indigenous music played as a recording or even provided by guests to sing and dance. Mukupa further notes that the aftermath is based on a Western party style with no indigenous elements. The aftermath parties do not have to last for a fixed time. The usual practice is to end when the drinks run out or when people feel tired and they leave at their own convenience. As stated above for the other wedding ceremonies, there are variations in the way in which aftermath parties are organised and conducted. As Kangwa (2006) points out, parties of this nature draw elements from individuals' experiences, wherever the couple has attended parties of this nature in and outside Zambia.

4.2.9 Ukuluula and Ukushikula (Undoing of taboos)

In the *ukuluula*¹⁷ and *ukushikula* ceremonies the couple receives further marriage instructions through the introduction of the two families. According to indigenous rules, for example, a daughter-in-law and son-in-law are not supposed to shake hands with the in-laws before the

¹⁶ Kondolo, a reverend in the United Church of Zambia, states that the Christian beliefs being referred to are those of the early missionaries and also currently some Pentecostal churches. Otherwise there is nothing wrong in following those traditions that contribute to the strengthening of relationships between couples and their families, and marriages in general. Mutale (2006) adds that the Bible encourages respect for traditions as demonstrated by Jesus Christ following the Jewish traditions such as circumcision.

¹⁷ The *ukuluula* ceremony is conducted shortly after the wedding in order to undo the taboos that existed before. The process of undoing of the taboos involves the act of *ukushikula*, which entails the offering of a gift of money as a sign of respect to in-laws. See Appendix L for details of the ceremony.

act of *ukushikula*. They would also not eat from their in-laws home until the ‘taboos’ have been undone. There are several other examples, which are not discussed in this thesis.

In the post-independence period *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies, especially starting from the late 1990s, have not only been shortened, but some families have omitted them from the *ubwinga* ceremonies. According to Kunda (2002), one reason for the omission of *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies is that couples often make arrangements to leave town for their ‘honeymoon’¹⁸ the day after their wedding reception. Chinyanta N (2002) points out that many families live in different towns and cities, which makes it difficult for family members to attend the undoing of taboos. In such cases *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* will not be effective as only friends would be able to attend. However, despite these inconsistencies, the structure and existence of *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies have still survived in Lusaka and the Kitwe, even though in a shortened form. Ilunga (2002) points out that currently elements (rituals) such as the exchange of *imisukuso* have been completely done away with from the ceremony. According to her, this development could be attributed to the following factors:

- The time at which the ceremony is performed during the whole process of wedding ceremonies does not warrant its execution, since the preceding rituals are not conducted in this set up;
- In the urban centres the ceremony is treated as a mere get-together for families and not a means to provide further marriage instructions or to understand family ties (that of *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*) with regards to kinship lineages and totems;
- The organisers of the ceremony do not consult experienced elders for guidance and as such the function and purpose of the ceremony do not conform to the Bemba cultural, indigenous and philosophical teachings. In cases of inter-ethnic marriages, some families have relied on hired elders who may not necessarily be experts in cultural and traditional matters or have not been *bana chimbusa* or *bashibikombe* before. This practice is commonly found amongst people who have been born and bred in the towns and cities, and have not been initiated according to the Bemba IKS.
- Not many people nowadays are familiar with the musical arts used for marriage instructions. As a result, a ceremony like *ukuluula* and *ukushikula*, which is heavily reliant upon instructions through song, dance and mime, cannot be meaningful within the musical arts. Mwela (2002) adds that the omission of the musical arts has resulted in rendering the ceremony to be conducted just as a mere formality. There are certain songs and mimes that must be performed for the couple, who are expected to understand and interpret these songs. Fulfilment of these requirements is necessary in order to be considered fully initiated into married life. The couple’s understanding is tested and reinforced when they participate in other couples’ marriage ceremonies. The Bemba have a strong sense of oral

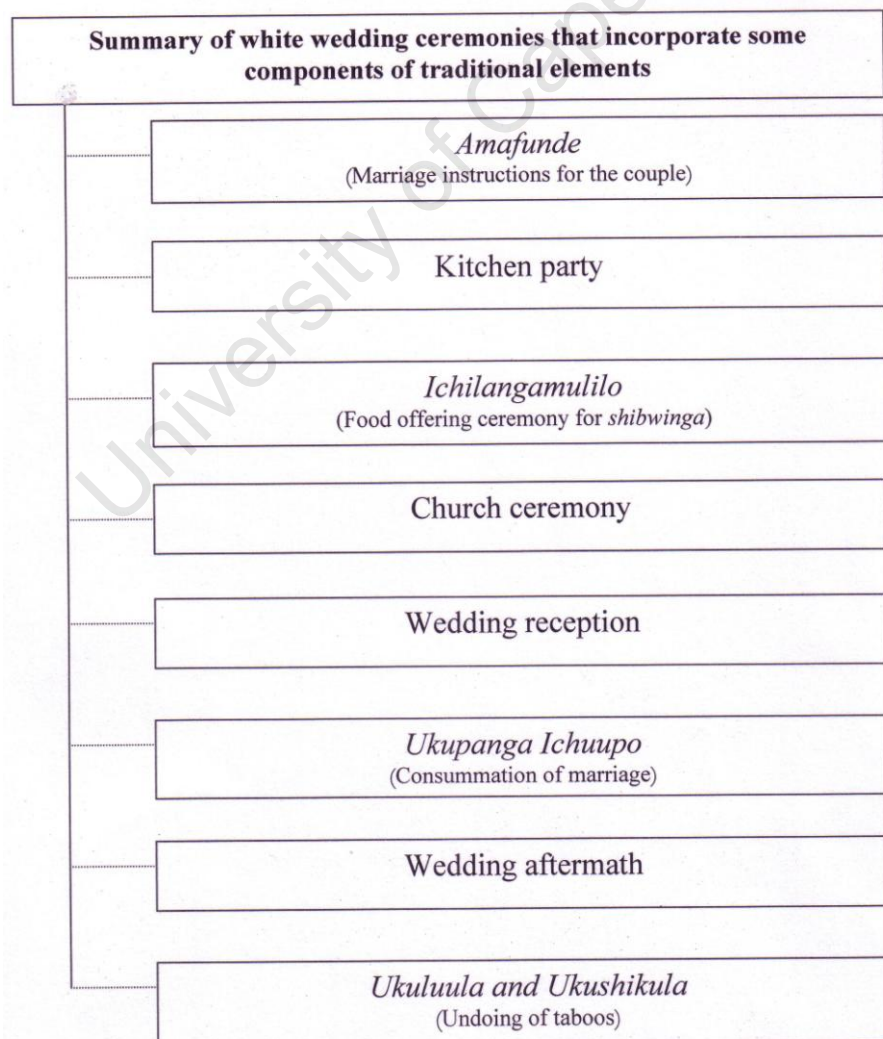
¹⁸ The concept of a ‘honeymoon’ is Western; during this period the couple is supposed to spend time alone together as a couple with the intention of getting to know each other in ways that they have not known each other before. This concept is foreign to indigenous marital ceremonies, where the couple did not officially take time to spend on their own.

tradition and belief in adherence to specific conduct in society, and the musical arts as a rich and interwoven expression of a way of life echoes strong and true (Lumbwe 2004).

- The persistent of lack of knowledge of *amapinda* and *insoselo*, which form an important part of IKS and imparting of marriage instructions. Kalale (2007) asserts that with the shallow knowledge of marriage songs, guests at *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies rely on making commentaries to give marriage instructions to the couple, but these commentaries lack depth and substance as they do not contain cultural and philosophical value. According to Mufana (2006:22–49), there is a tendency to talk about less important issues such as Western educational background and qualifications of the couple.

Though indigenous ceremonies such as *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* lack depth in their instructional resources, scholars such as Mumpuka (2007) and Mwesa (2007) feel that the Bemba still appreciate these ceremonies to some extent. They both indicate that indigenous knowledge is being preserved and being handed down to the younger generation; there is therefore no harm in continuing with them in the state they are at present.

Figure 4.2 Summary of white wedding ceremonies in the post-independence era



Chapter Five

***Ubwinga* ceremonies: a comparison between the pre-colonial era and the white wedding ceremonies of the post-independence era**

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to compare *ubwinga* indigenous marriage ceremonies performed during the pre-colonial era and the white wedding ceremonies performed during the post-independence era. Furthermore, this chapter intends to identify the causes of change in *ubwinga* ceremonies and factors that influenced this change are discussed. This is done under the following headings: Change in life style of *amachona*¹ in Lusaka and Kitwe, Ceremonies and rituals, Preparation and financing, and the musical arts. The musical arts are discussed according to how they relate to the preparation and organisation, and the role they play in *ubwinga* and the white wedding ceremonies in which they are performed. Details of their form, structure and performance are discussed in the next chapter.

5.2 Change in life style of *amachona* in Lusaka and Kitwe

The term *amachona* is used throughout Zambia to refer to people who left the rural areas and settled permanently in towns and cities. The mere creation of the term *amachona* is a huge indicator of the immense change that occurred from the pre-colonial times until post-independence in Zambia. What has emerged is that major changes in Bemba marriage ceremonies have been determined by factors such as labour migration,² social organisation, physical environment, Western education, Christian teaching, the money economy (commerce and trade) and new technological advancements.

To provide a complete understanding of the changes that taken place in Bemba marriage ceremonies, it is necessary to give the reader a detailed description of the socio-cultural changes outlined in the previous paragraph. What might seem like a mere change in the way the huts have been structured could have a strong impact on the way in which a ceremony was performed, or even abolished in some cases.

¹ People who left the rural areas and permanently settled in the towns and cities.

² As stated in Chapter Two, after the introduction of hut taxes and the beginning of mining activities on the Copperbelt, many young males left the rural areas and went to towns in search of employment.

5.2.1 Migration, social organisation and physical environment

In assessing changes in the life style, at both social and individual levels, of the Zambian people, the colonial period stands out as the focal point and determinant of the direction into which the social life of the people has been moving since then. The rural-urban drift plus the development of mining towns resulted in what Powdermaker describes as:

[...] contemporary African society – specially, a modern heterogeneous community on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, composed of a majority of Africans most of whom had come from small homogeneous, tribal villages and a minority of Europeans who [...] came usually from South Africa, southern Rhodesia or the United Kingdom. (Powdermaker, 1962:xiii).

With regards to the ‘great industrial expansion in Northern Rhodesia, Brelsford (1956:109-110) points out that other developments that came with the mining activities such as the increase in the African³ workforce from 10,946 (in 1927) to 22,341 (in 1929); on the one hand, an African workforce was being drawn from Nyasaland, Mozambique and Angola, while on the other hand, a large proportion of local Africans were leaving the territory for other countries such as the Congo, Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika. The movement of migrant labourers to and from the Northern Rhodesian territory led to a circulatory migration pattern. This form of migration was precipitated by the mode of labour recruitment, which was in the hands of different individual labour agents (Brelsford 1956:110).

As an administrative and commercial centre, Lusaka drew its workforce from the industrial towns of the Copperbelt and also from areas around it. Like the Copperbelt, Lusaka also drew workforce from countries such as Southern Rhodesia and South Africa (Mubanga B 2006). Mubanga adds that the findings of the nutritional survey of 1947 indicate that Lusaka’s Zambian population was dominated by Bemba, Lenje, Chewa, Ngoni and Soli.⁴ They came from rural settings, which Richards (1939:18) describes as ‘small communities of villages consisting of thirty to fifty huts, while that of the [paramount chief numbered] one hundred and fifty or more. These villages were a kinship unit headed by a senior member who was appointed by the Chief of the area.’ At the time of Richards’ study (in the 1930s) the Bemba were engaged in agricultural activities, hunting, and trade, and their way of life was

³ In this section the term Africans is used instead of Zambians when referring to the black people of Zambia during the colonial period, because at that time people from Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe were grouped together with the local people. However, when referring to the local people specifically, the term Zambian has been used.

⁴ Mubanga drew his information from Thomson, Betty P (1954) *Two Studies in African Nutrition*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 24, Manchester, p. 11. In subsequent surveys the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute had collected comparable information for Lusaka to that of Thomson, but they have not been tabulated or published. Brelsford acknowledged this in his book *The Tribes of Northern Rhodesia* (1956:115).

communally driven, based on a matrilineal system. The villages were widely scattered, just like those of the other Bemba-speaking peoples of north-eastern Rhodesia (now Luapula Province), but they were ‘in marked contrast to that of the Eastern Bantu tribes such as the Ganda and Chagga, who live in isolated homesteads, from the smaller family kraals composed of a man, his wife, and his sons common in South Africa, or the larger Bantu settlements numbering as many as ten thousand inhabitants found, for instance, in [Botswana]’ (Richards 1939:18).

With regards to the social organisation of the ‘small communities of villages’ that Richards referred to, Mubanga (2006) points out that though they were scattered throughout Bembaland, allegiance to a common Mwinelubemba Chitimukulu was the main unifying factor, which determined the Bemba local grouping based on traditional pride (the military might which distinguished the Bemba from other ethnic groups within the area). Within the social culture and system, the material culture and economic organisation were based on the production of material equipment that aided in the execution of daily chores as: hut building, fencing, furniture making (*ifipuna* – stools, *ifintamba* – storing racks, *amaato* – canoes, *amabende* – mortars, and fashion logs into drums – *ukupanga ingoma*, etc). Furthermore, implements were produced for hunting (*ukulunga*), fishing (*ukuloba isabi*) and clothing (*ifilundu* – bark-cloth). Richards (1939:22) notes that *ifilundu* were ousted completely when European cloth became available (this happened around the late 1800s) to the extent that during her field research in the early 1900s *ifilundu* were not evident. These daily chores often made their way into some of the indigenous Bemba marriage ceremonies as ways to prove that the *nabwinga* and the *shabwinga* can perform certain marital duties.

The scenario in the urban areas was different from that of the rural village described above. Powdermaker (1962:4) points out that in the towns mining activities created an urban civilisation, which resulted in an unprecedented movement of ‘tribal peoples’ into the modern world. Powdermaker continues that residential areas in the towns were segregated, ‘one area exclusively for Europeans and the other for Africans’. With regards to the residential areas for Africans, Chinyanta (2002) notes that in Lusaka these areas were colloquially called ‘compounds’,⁵ while in Kitwe and other towns on the Copperbelt they were called ‘locations’ or ‘townships’. As opposed to the rural setting of the villages, which were homogeneous, the

⁵ The word ‘compound’ has been adapted into the town Bemba vocabulary and is commonly known as *komboni*.

urban compounds were heterogeneous and larger in size. Physically, the houses in the compounds were larger than the huts in the rural villages, with a rectangular shape and ranged from one to three rooms.⁶ Furthermore, the compound houses were built in orderly rows with streets. This development in terms of organisation and physical size and shape of houses in compounds was also noted by Powdermaker (1962) and Epstein (1978) in their studies of the Copperbelt. The size and shape of houses varied to some extent because, according to company policy, employees were accommodated according to their rank. This means that senior employees had better accommodation than their lower ranking colleagues. Musumbulwa (1990) observes that senior employees working on the mines on the Copperbelt were accommodated in English-type bungalows that had verandas, three rooms plus a kitchen, inside ablutions, with electricity provided. However, for the single men dormitory blocks with a communal kitchen and sanitation were provided. Over the years the quantity and quality of the houses in the compounds kept on increasing and improving.⁷

The houses in the townships were owned either by the government, in municipal areas, or by companies like the mines in mining areas. This state of affairs did not allow for home ownership for the Africans as in their rural dwelling places. Instead the idea of paying rent was introduced and this rendered their stay temporary in these houses.

Besides improved standards of the structure and size of the buildings, facilities such as running water were provided at the communal 'stone washing stands' and ablution blocks. Having tap water within the townships was a big change from the village, where water was drawn from the nearby stream or river. The provision of tap water at a communal place in the township was a great improvement for the women, but Ilunga (2002) notes that some of the activities for women were done at the stream or river when collecting water, or when washing clothes at the communal tap. Ilunga further notes that since the community setting in the townships was that of mixed groupings, new means of socialisation developed from family

⁶ The village huts were mainly one room, but some villagers made rectangular huts, because of their contact with people from the urban centres, although this was very rare in the early days. Nowadays it is common to find rectangular huts and even houses with more than one room in villages throughout the country. This development was noted by Powdermaker, who points out that 'The township has now expanded to four and one half square miles, and the standard of housing is constantly improving. In 1954 there were 146 houses with electricity, while in January 1961, there were approximately 4,920 out of a total of 7,708' (Powdermaker 1962:5).

⁷ Comparatively speaking, the houses for the Africans in townships and compounds were of inferior standards to those of the Europeans, but as indicated in other studies, the Africans thought the houses a great improvement over their traditional village homes, though their town houses did not have a pleasing aesthetic quality (Powdermaker 1962:5).

groupings to more complex relationships, which included people of different ethnic, tribal, cultural and even national inclinations. Whereas people of the same matrikin lived together in close proximity (in the village setting), the township provided for mixed groups resulting from the system of worker accommodation designed by the government and the mining companies, where tenants of houses had no choice of accommodation as they had in the village.

In the initial stages of movement to the urban centres, the immigrants made occasional visits to their villages or when it was not possible for them to travel, money was sent to their relatives instead. However, as time went by many town dwellers became more and more settled to such an extent that they refrained from visiting their rural homes or even from leaving town after their retirement to go and settle in their villages. This development created a disruption in tribal links among the rural and migrant workers in town. Presently, there are many young people, especially those born and raised in the towns, who have never been to their rural places of origin (Mwandu 2007). During the late 1970s the government of the republic of Zambia, under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, tried to encourage retired government and mine employees to go and settle in their rural places of origin so as to foster development in those areas.⁸ Though this declaration was good, it was met with resistance from many who had become used to 'town life'. As stated in Chapter Two, the alternative for not going back to the village was for people to settle in site-and-service compounds (informal settlements), usually found on the periphery of towns. Despite the numerous appeals and encouragement by the government for people to 'go back to the land', the response from the people was very poor because of the fear of hardships expected in rural areas (Kunda 2002). Furthermore, Chandamukulu (2007) observes that people who have lived in towns for a long time have become suspicious of those in the villages and have accused them of witchcraft. This has discouraged many people who would have preferred to go back to join their kindred in the rural areas.

Change in physical location, from rural to urban, and infrastructure triggered or compelled the migrant labourers to make adjustments to their way of life. Firstly, in terms of governance there was a marked difference in the sense that in the rural setting, as pointed out earlier, though the powers of decision making were vested in hereditary leaders such as the chiefs and

⁸ The government call for people to go back to their rural places of origin upon retirement was referred to as the 'Go back to the land' slogan coined by Kenneth Kaunda.

headmen, generally the communities had representation even at lower levels of ‘commoner’ (in the case of the Bemba). In towns the setting was different in the sense that the colonial system did not include Africans in decision making. It should be noted here that even though committees of ‘tribal elders’ were created, these bodies were used as instruments of propaganda to foster the ideals and values of the colonial masters. Besides having very little or no say over matters that concerned their livelihood in townships, Africans were also subjected to all sorts of constraints, which included restricted gatherings, restricted movement, restriction of association with the opposite sex, especially for males who lived in the hostels (commonly known as ‘single quarters’). According to Musumbulwa (1990), the restrictions imposed on the Africans not only destabilised their way of life, but had a psychological impact on them. Be that as it may, the compensation the Africans living in townships had was improved housing and social amenities, which made their living somehow comparatively easier from that of their counterparts living in the villages. Secondly, the drastic change in the physical environment (infrastructure) contributed to the adjustments that were made to the way of life of the Zambians in the townships.

The village buildings, which included huts, granaries, *insaka* (shaded areas), including the windows, took a circular shape. By virtue of their circular shape, displays of furniture and other household belongings followed suit. Furthermore, even the sitting arrangement tended to follow the same shape. The circular sitting arrangement has been justified and explained with varying philosophic meanings by different peoples as it is common to many societies throughout sub-Saharan Africa. According to Mwesa (2007), there have been claims that in the African sense the circular sitting plan represents social equality among the members present at a given gathering, or that the circle simulates the python when it bites its tail. However, among the Bemba the circular plan allows for all the people at a gathering to be in full view of each other, in times of discussion meetings. In the case of performances of a musical, dance or dramatic nature, the central space within a circle serves as the performance arena and also exposes the performers to their audience.

Chitwansombo (2006) suggests that the meaning of the circle, from his experience as *ingomba* (Royal Musician), represents continuity of life and affirms that human beings pass through the world in a human state, pass on to the spirit world of ancestors, and eventually come back to life as new human beings. That is, a person is born as a baby, passes through different stages of life – as a young child, matures into an adult, grows old and passes on into

the world of the dead after his/her death. When a new baby is born that child will inherit their spirit, an action (in Bemba belief), which implies incarnation of the beholder of the name of the spirit. Chitwansombo's explanation has truth in it, but in terms of representation of the views or philosophy of the Bemba, it needs confirmation, but the researcher did not have the opportunity to substantiate this claim by enquiring from a wider sample of people. Among the research participants interviewed, two other people affirmed Chitwansombo's view. Therefore, the claim is presented as an assumption that could either be disputed or confirmed. The rectangular structures in the townships presented the urbanised Zambians with a new setting. The effect of this change will be explored in the next chapter.

Thirdly, the size of houses, especially at present, has proven to be a hindrance in accommodating the ever-growing tendency to invite large numbers of guests for marriage ceremonies, something that has necessitated the use of hired recreational halls, restaurants, hotels and even making use of outdoor venues. The utilisation of venues other than the homes, or having the ceremonies performed outside the houses, requires adjustments to be made to certain marriage rituals to suit the available space. With regards to adjustments made to certain marriage rituals and ceremonies, Kashoki (2008) points out that the Bemba in both rural and urban areas inevitably live in societies that are rapidly and constantly changing, with social life also undergoing radical change. Therefore, traditions and cultural practices and usage, in some instances, have to keep pace or pass through an equally complete transformation if they (traditions and customs) are to have any meaning for life. Commenting on the same subject, Chasaya (2008) concedes that in the light of trying to resolve the problem of accommodation for large groups of invited guests, marriage ceremonies that are performed outdoors to some extent breach certain codes such as that of age restriction, since people of varying ages are free to watch from afar. Chasaya further notes that because of the breach of age restrictions, certain rituals in the form of actions, mime and spoken or sung activities are abbreviated and less elaborate or in some cases omitted completely for fear of exposing confidential matters to the uninitiated and the young children.

To summarise: the effect of the change in the environmental setting that occurred from the pre-colonial to post-independence eras has led to the following trends:

- The idea of the matrilocal setting for marriage was gradually lost;
- Inter-ethnic marriages occurred more frequently;

- The design of the colonial and post-independence huts interfered with the some of the procedures of indigenous wedding ceremonies;
- Not only did the building design change ceremonial procedures, but it also brought change in the deep cultural symbolic thinking behind the structure of not only houses, but also communities;
- The increasing number of invited guests has led to parts of the ceremonies being conducted indoors and/or outdoors;
- The change of careers of young people getting married rendered many of the crucial parts of indigenous wedding ceremonies, such as making furniture or cooking of dishes, mere decorative, as if forming props of a play.

5.2.2 Introduction of Western education and Christian belief systems

Change in the environmental setting is not the only source of influence of change in Bemba wedding ceremonies. Introduction of Western education systems to Africans in both the rural and urban centres created clashes of traditions and customs, resulting in the development of modern attitudes which were negative towards the indigenous people and their culture. Western education came with Western culture, especially the fact that the medium of instruction was predominantly English language. Having a good command of English was an added advantage in times of job searches and, as Chinyanta (2002) notes, African people who spoke English acquired a higher status in their community. Details of the influence of foreign languages, including English, on the musical arts in the Bemba wedding ceremonies will be dealt with later in this chapter. In his study of tradition and change in Luvale marriage, White (1962:37) notes that young girls and boys who had gone through school showed an increasing disinclination to participate in traditional rituals (pre-marriage initiation) as they felt that the rituals were degrading, especially to their brides. The same could be said about the Bemba in urban compounds and the effect of such ‘modern attitudes’, as White (1962) calls them, is evident in the organisation of traditional marriage ceremonies (*chisungu* and *ubwinga*) which have increasingly become abbreviated rituals and marginalised in preference to Western Christian ceremonies and rituals (white wedding).

Christian teachings viewed African indigenous and cultural practices as heathen and thus churches did not accept them as part of their practice. As a result of the adoption of Christian attitudes, the Zambians in both the rural and urban areas view some of their marriage rituals as no longer desirable and thus tended to discard them. This negative attitude has continued to grow to such an extent that ceremonies such as *chisungu* have almost disappeared in urban areas, and are performed sparingly and in abbreviated form in rural areas. However, *ubwinga* ceremonies have survived despite constant clashes with Christian values. In both rural and

urban *ubwinga* ceremonies there has been a combination of both Bemba indigenous and Christian rituals and ceremonies. The result of this combination is referred to as *ubwinga* by the indigenous Bemba and ‘White wedding’ by the Christians. The emerging model from the data collected during fieldwork, oral history and experience illuminates the eight-stage ceremonial, which has already been outlined in Chapter Four. The model demonstrates the existence of some of the Bemba indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies and at the same time the disappearance of others such as *ukutwa ubwinga*, *ubwalwa bwa bwinga*, *ukupota ubwalwa*, *ukuchilika musambi*, *ukutiya ubwinga*, *ukowa uluchelo* and *ukusulula ifitete*.

Though some of the Bemba indigenous *ubwinga* rituals have been included in the white wedding ceremonials, the practice is that these have been eclipsed by the Western ceremonials, thus rendering the Bemba traditions peripheral. Though this may be the state of affairs, Chasaya (2008) points out that among the ethnic groups found in Lusaka and the other towns in Zambia, Bemba indigenous marriage ceremonies (especially *ichilangamulilo* and *ukuwingisha*) have become very popular, to such an extent that the other non Bemba-speaking ethnic groups have adopted them even though there is no guarantee that they perform them properly. Chasaya further points out that the popularity of the Bemba traditional marriage ceremonies has contributed to their commercialisation and secularisation. Consequently, commercialisation and secularisation of Bemba traditional marriage ceremonies has reduced their significance, thus allowing for the amplification of the Christian wedding ceremonials. Unlike some other societies such as the Luvale, the Bemba formalise and value hierarchy based on age ‘as age is itself a ground for respect and ascendant generations enjoy authority and status in relation to their juniors’ (White 1962:37). Unfortunately, at present in the towns hierarchy based on age is being ignored, creating many elements of conflict between indigenous values and modern changes, because the whole content of the marriage ceremonies and the justification for them lies in the hands of the marriage partners and their peers (on the ‘wedding committee’).

The growing freedom of choice of marriage partners and also the emphasis on a ‘romantic element’ has resulted in the shift of responsibility of the preparation and organisation of *ubwinga* from the parents to the couple concerned. Although early researchers such as Richards (1940) and Radcliffe-Brown (1952) asserted that romantic love was not part of African marriages, White shown in his study of tradition and change in Luvale marriage in the 1960s that this perception was not true as the young generation in towns acknowledged its

existence and blamed it on Western movies and magazines (White 1962:34). This view also applies to the young Bemba people living in town. Richards's and Radcliffe-Brown's notion could have derived from overlooking the fact that, firstly, in the indigenous setting there were marked divisions of responsibilities between spouses, resulting in their separation as they performed their daily chores, but only spent time together privately in their huts during the night. Secondly, Bemba society in the rural areas and also communities in town were not static societies and thus susceptible to change because of contact with foreign people and new technologies.

Ukupeela amano (imparting of knowledge) takes place through verbal means in the form of language expressed through spoken and sung words, but also through non-verbal means, expressed through actions, gestures, mime and dramatisation. In this research language is a critical dimension, as it readily reflects change and continuity, and how contact between different people has influenced and caused new forms and the uses of verbal expression to emerge. For instance, the Bemba-speaking people show marked difference in the way they speak ichiBemba (language of the Bemba). In his article 'Town Bemba: A sketch of its main characteristics' Kashoki writes that:

Although we generally say that such and such a people speak such and such a language, this does not imply that all the members speaking that language speak it without any difference whatsoever in the words they use (vocabulary), in the way they pronounce individual words (phonology), in the way they carry the melody over phrases (intonation) or in the manner in which they construct their sentences (syntax) Kashoki (1972:161).

Mapoma (1980:8–21) also found out the same variations in ichiBemba when he studied 'The determinants of style in the music of *ingomba*.' It is these variations in the spoken ichiBemba that warranted the classification of the language into dialects (Kashoki 1972; Mapoma 1980). The different research participants during fieldwork usually described themselves as:

- '*Ine ndi muBemba nkonko kabili nanda ichiBemba nkonko*' ('I am a central Bemba and I speak central Bemba language').
- '*Ine ndi mu Aushi kabili nanda ichiAushi*' ('I am Ushi and I speak *Ushi* language').
- '*Ine ndi mu Tabwa kabili nanda ichiTabwa*' ('I am a Tabwa and I speak Tabwa language').

These responses demonstrate that within the Bemba group there are dialects or subgroups, and that each subgroup speaks ichiBemba with variations from the others and the language is called by the subgroup's name. However, beyond differences in terms of linguistic characteristics or attributes, found in studies by Kashoki and Richards, there are strong

indications that the Bemba have had contact with other people from pre-colonial times up to this day. It is through this contact that ichiBemba has continued to draw words which Kashoki describes as ‘borrowed words’ from languages such as: Nyanja, Fanagalo (Kabanga or Chilapalapa as it is commonly known in Zambia), Afrikaans, Zulu, Swahili, Portuguese and English. Examples of ‘borrowed words’ include: *Shinkwa*, *iule*, *aikona*, *changanya*, *impasha*, *ingwati*, *bululu*, *ishati*, *motoka*, *insapato*, *laka*, *maningi*, *ninkishi*, and *kalale*. Table 5.1 presents the ‘borrowed words’, the original Bemba words and those from other languages from which they were derived.

Table 5.1 Table of adopted Bemba words from other languages (Kashoki 1972; 2006)

Bemba	Ichikopabeluti Adopted words from other languages	Xhosa	Zulu	Swahili	Shona	Afrikaans	English
<i>Umukate</i>	<i>shinkwa</i>	<i>Isinkwa</i>	<i>Isinkwa</i>	<i>Mkate</i>	<i>chingwa</i>		Bread
<i>Chilende</i>	<i>iule</i>	<i>iule</i>	<i>iule</i>	<i>malaya</i>	<i>hure Pfambi</i>	<i>Hoer/Whore</i>	Prostitute
<i>Awe</i>	<i>aikona</i>	<i>Aikona</i>	<i>Aikona</i>	<i>hapana</i>	<i>Aiwa Kwete</i>	<i>Nee</i>	No
<i>Sankanya</i>	<i>changanya</i>			<i>changanya</i>	<i>Kusanganisa</i>		Mix
<i>Ifyakufwala</i>	<i>impasha</i>	<i>Mpaha</i>	<i>Ingubo</i>	<i>nguo</i>	<i>Hembe Mbatya</i>		Clothes
	<i>ingwati</i>	<i>Incuati</i>	<i>Incuati</i>	<i>barua</i>	<i>Tsamba</i>		Letter
<i>Lupwa</i>	<i>bululu</i>			<i>ndugu</i>	<i>Bururu</i>	<i>Broer</i>	Brother
	<i>motoka</i>			<i>gari</i>	<i>Motokari</i>	<i>Motor</i>	Motor car
<i>Ilaya</i>	<i>ishati</i>			<i>shati</i>	<i>Sheti</i>		Shirt
<i>Insapato</i>	<i>Insapato</i> (Zapatus in Portuguese)			<i>viatu</i>	<i>Shangu Bhutsu</i>		Shoes
<i>Bwino</i>	<i>laka</i>					<i>lekker</i>	Good/fine
<i>Sana</i>	<i>Maningi</i> (Fanagalo)			<i>sana</i>			Very much/a lot
<i>Panono</i>	<i>Ninkishi</i>		<i>mbitshana</i>			<i>Niks</i>	Little/slightly
<i>Kalale</i>	<i>Kalale</i>				<i>Harare</i>		

Contact with Western culture has not only affected the Bemba and ichiBemba, but also many other African languages and people. One such group is the Shona of Zimbabwe, as Pongweni and Chiwome (2007:90-91) indicate that it is common for children living in Harare to substitute Shona vocabulary for that of English as they converse in Shona. Pongeni and Chiwome further point out that selected values and practices are used to support change, while at the same time demonstrating that innovation is an important part of living traditions, as the outcome of this innovation links the past and the present because new creations depend upon what existed in the past.⁹

⁹ IchiBemba and other African languages are not the only ones that have over the years adopted words from other languages. The same could be said about languages such as English, which has drawn words from languages such as French and German, among others.

The use of ‘borrowed words’ has inevitably extended to names of people as well. Kashoki (1972:242-243) and Kapwepwe (2002b:42-43) found that some foreign names, especially those from the Romance and English languages, have over time acquired a Bemba version or become ‘Bembanised’. For example:

Table 5.2 Bemba names derived from other languages (Kashoki 1972:242–243; Kapwepwe 2002b:42–43)

Latin version of name	English version of name	Bemba version of name
Josephus	Joseph	<i>Yusufu</i>
Maria	Mary	<i>Maliya</i> or <i>Meli</i>
Petrus	Peter	<i>Peetelo</i> or <i>Piita</i>
Paulus	Paul	<i>Paaulo</i>
Andre	Andrew	<i>Andele</i>

Furthermore, adoption of new forms of education (Western and Christian), the use of the colonial master’s language (in this case English) as a medium of instruction and for public life generally, and the development of trade and commerce have greatly contributed to the development of language in the urban centre of Zambia (Kashoki 1972:161-165). IchiBemba spoken in urban centres is often referred to as ‘town Bemba’ *Chikopabeeluti* (the language of the Copperbelt). As indicated earlier, this variant has become the lingua franca of the Copperbelt and Lusaka and it is used at work, home, social gatherings, political functions and in education (Kashoki, 1972:163).¹⁰ This view is shared by 20 out of 25 research subjects who were interviewed during fieldwork. Kambole (2002) adds that urbanisation, education and proficiency in the use of English language (which is the official language in Zambia) are some of the main indicators of influence, change and development of ichiBemba. The growing popularity of *ichikopabeeluti*, surpassing that of other languages in the country, has resulted in a dichotomy between it and rural ichiBemba. Though rural ichiBemba should be regarded as ‘standard’ or traditional, a quarter of the research subjects from the secondary school-going age (15 to 18 years) viewed it as being backward. By extension, the negative attitude towards rural ichiBemba among teenagers has affected that towards the cultural practices and traditions and later the musical arts. In contrast, when it comes to composing music today, most musicians prefer to use *ichikopabeeluti* and include slung words (see Appendix M Song text Balekuzembeleka).

¹⁰ At present ichiBemba (*Chikopabeeluti*) is more widely spoken than English or any other Zambian language throughout the country.

5.2.3 Class dynamics

In the colonial period, when Zambians were settling and getting acclimatised to the socioeconomic demands of the urban areas, dichotomies with regards to ideals (beliefs and value systems) emerged at social and individual levels. Powdermaker (1962:7–8)¹¹ points out that among disparate groups and indeed within the same individual there existed divisions between the traditional and the modern. The divisions emanated from a continuation of certain indigenous practices, on the one hand, and on the other, the adoption of a combination of some of the indigenous with the new forms of behaviour, values and attitudes from the colonial masters and also from people from other African countries. To exemplify this point Powdermaker (1962:7) notes that ‘many [Zambian] people went to church, but they also followed some traditional customs at birth, puberty, marriage and death’. In the compounds and townships of Lusaka and Kitwe respectively, the type of accommodation offered to Africans¹² was determined by the positions they held in the organisations they worked for. In the long run the development in terms of stratified accommodation in the compounds resulted in changes in life style and the creation of socioeconomic classes. These socioeconomic groupings included the professional or ‘white-collar’ jobs, domestic workers and lastly the labourers (Powdermaker 1962; Mitchell 1968). Mitchell notes that these classes were based on the European way of life as a standard. Therefore, those Africans who acquired Western education were able to occupy positions such as clerks, teachers and telephone operators, and these collectively formed the intelligentsia among Africans.

Prestige among Africans meant changes in life style which emanated from aspiring to and imitating that of their colonial masters (Powdermaker 1962:8-9; Mitchell 1968:15-17). Social stratification into classes, as outlined above, in urban centres is not peculiar to Zambia and the period under discussion. Social classes do exist in societies throughout the world and, as Powdermaker (1962:12-13) and Lombe (1987:5) point out, the rise of bourgeoisie class (comprador bourgeoisies, petty bourgeoisies) occurred as early as the medieval feudal order. Furthermore, the modern capitalist classes trace their origin to a period as early as the mid-twelfth century in Europe.

¹¹ Although Powdermaker’s study was conducted during the 1960s, his findings correspond with those of the researcher among some of the research participants interviewed in the 2000s.

¹² When referring to the people living in compounds and townships during the colonial period, the term Africans instead of Zambians is used, because migrant labourers from Malawi (Nyasaland), Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) were included.

Class dynamics within communities in Zambia during the colonial era were clearly projected in the *Kalela* and *Mbeni* dances of the 1950s on the Copperbelt (discussed in Chapter Two). In both dances characters such as doctor, nurse and miner were distinct, especially in that they all dressed appropriately according to the professions they represented. Furthermore, as the dances ensued, the mime and movements of the dancers depicted special treatment for the characters doctor, nurse and miner, who commanded a higher socioeconomic status, which was highly sought by many in the African communities. The special dancers were also a means for the Africans to express their desire to ‘acquire civilisation’, which was expressed in daily conversation in Bemba as ‘*ukukwata shifilisashoni*’ (‘to acquire civilisation’). When Mitchell examined the composition of *Kalela* dancing groups on the Copperbelt, the finding was that the majority of the dancers were drawn from the unskilled labourers, while a small percentage came from semi-skilled or petty traders such as tailors. Despite their lack of high social status, *Kalela* dancers still maintained a ‘smart European-style’ dress code, a thing that drew great admiration from their spectators at the dance arenas (Mitchell 1956:15). Though *Mbeni* is not very common nowadays, the dancers still maintain the smart Western-style-dress.¹³ However, though *Kalela* was very popular and common during the colonial period, it has lost its elaborate and elegant Western-style dress during post-independence and become an outfit made from *chitenge* (Zambian fabric used as national dress) in an African design.

Since post-independence dance groups design generic costumes for performances of Zambian indigenous dances. Such costumes’ fabric and design serve the purpose of reflecting group identity and are not designed for the requirements of specific dances. However, some dances are performed with specific costumes as the dance demands. For instance, dances such as *Ngoma* of the Ngoni are performed in attire made from animal skin (similar to *ibeshu* attire of the Zulu of South Africa),¹⁴ while *Makishi* of the Luvale and *Nyau* of the Chewa are performed in the masks that go with the dances. During the period from the late 1970s to the late 1990s, national colours – green, red, orange and black – have been very common among many dance groups. This could be attributed to the utilisation of Zambian musical arts by the government during political ceremonies and national celebrations. Imitating a Western life style extended beyond the dress code.

¹³ *Mbeni* dress code includes suits (jacket and trousers), long-sleeved shirts and formal shoes. Some dancers also wear hats.

¹⁴ The Ngoni attire is made from animal skin and is worn around the pelvis.

With regards to the lifestyle of the people in Lusaka and Kitwe in the post-independence period, there is no racial segregation in suburbs and townships as used to be the case in the colonial times, but imitating the European life style is still evident. The following expressions used in daily conversation to denote being well-to-do illustrate this:

- ‘*Ifwe twikala nga basungu*’ (‘We live like the white people’).
- ‘*Uyu musungu pantu alinonka*’ (‘He is a white person because he is rich’).
- ‘*Ku Kabulonga ekwikala abasungu*’ (‘In Kabulonga, that is where white people live’).
- ‘*Kwena naufwala bwino. Ulemoneka ubulaya*’ (‘Well, you are smartly dressed. You are looking like one from England’).

Expressions such as the following denote the negative view of the people on what belonged to the Africans during the colonial days:

- ‘*Iwe walikwata imisango yamu komboni*’ (‘You have got behaviour from the compound’).
- ‘*Iwe walikwata amino yabu kamushi*’ (‘You have got the intelligence of a villager’).

Such attitudes as depicted in the examples above are determined by changing social structures that are partly a carry-over or overlap from attitudes and experiences from the colonial period and expanding group identity. As pointed out, in the colonial period Africans in urban centres aspired to be like their colonial masters; the same mentality is prevalent today, except that now the black elite has become the model with whom other Zambian people can identify.

5.2.4 Learning through ‘leisure’

As indicated in Chapter Three, in the rural setting the Zambians there were playful learning activities that provided a break from work and other daily duties that individuals were expected to perform. These activities did not only provide breaks from other activities, but formed major learning oral-based activities. Though this issue may not be the main focus of this research, it helps to indicate social change. In the rural setting, Bembaland in particular, children got together to play games or dance, and adults also got together in small groups and had beer or simply sat together playing games and chatting (*ukwisha*). It was during these leisure times that *inshimi* (stories with songs), *ificholeko* (riddles) and *imilumbe* (stories without songs) were told. Kasolo (2008) notes that from these leisure activities certain individuals, who had special abilities such as in telling stories or interpreting *ificholeko* and *imilumbe*, gained recognition and acclamation throughout the community.

From comparisons with the works of early anthropologists who studied the Bemba, it is clear that play has become marginalised and in most studies not even mentioned. However, the importance of play is acknowledged by Kroeber, who notes that:

Play impulses in the wide sense are exceedingly significant in man, because in re-channelled form they motivate great areas of human behaviour and important achievements of culture. (Kroeber 1948:29)

The Bemba themselves attach great importance to play; Kasolo (2008) points out that the Bemba from different age groups found time to play amongst themselves. Kasolo continues that some games were merely for amusement, while others were very educative and contained cultural lessons. Kroeber's point explains why Zambians in the urban centres continue to explore avenues for passing time after a hard day's work in the industries and elsewhere. The change in social facilities and the exposure to new technologies in the townships of the urban centres resulted in Zambians adapting to new social situations. Common to both the rural and urban areas was the game of *isolo* and beer and beer drinking. The beer drinking took place at two levels: in small groups at a home of a friend, and in larger groups at the tavern.¹⁵ Similar to shebeens in South African townships where *umqombothi*,¹⁶ was sold, the woman in Zambian townships also brewed local beer such as *katata* at their homes, but as Powdermaker (1962:225) observes this practice was illegal, although the business flourished. The practice of making and selling illicit beer is also prevalent in the townships today, except that the type of beer has changed from that made from millet (*katata*) to that made by a distillation process from left over *ubwali* (maize meal mash) mixed with yeast and other substances. Such beer is known by different names: *Lutuku*, *Kachasu*, *Mbamba*, *Seven-days*, *Mbesteni*, *Katankamanine uko* to mention but a few.

As *amchona* settled in the townships, more and more leisure activities were at their disposal. Among the adult group an increase in literacy resulted in people spending time reading newspapers and magazines, something that has continued even today. Other forms of pastime are sought from listening to the radio, going to the cinema, watching sports, ballroom dancing at the social club, etc. All these media led to a shift in modes of communication and what Africans were exposed to. As opposed to oral communication (primary), which involves 'personal contact and is direct' (Powdermaker 1962:227), listening to the radio meant that information and news and also music from other parts of the world, especially Europe, could be accessed. Musumbulwa (1990) points out that the radio has been a very powerful tool for communication since the colonial days and now it has even contributed greatly to

¹⁵ At the tavern the people drank beer from the same container in which beer was served. These containers were fondly known as '*ifikale* or *ifikopo*'. The kind of beer sold at these taverns was *chibuku* (made from maize – although nowadays it is also made from sorghum).

¹⁶ Locally brewed beer made from maize meal.

enlightening rural people about the world beyond theirs. Musumbulwa continues that with the benefit of listening to the radio (mass media) came the consequences, which include discarding or marginalisation of indigenous ways of spending free time, which has led (not always so wisely) to the assimilation of new cultures. This discarding or marginalisation of indigenous learning has also led to an altogether poorer knowledge base of the Bemba *nkonko*.

5.2.5 Changes brought by technology

With regards to technological advancements, Kangwa (2007) notes that since its inception in 1941, the broadcasting service has developed tremendously to a level where both audio and visual programmes are aired on national television. However, the point that has been missed when it comes to dealing with the influence of the media in Zambia is that, while in the earlier days there was an emphasis on broadcasting foreign programmes – documentaries, movies, music and news – the institution (Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation – ZNBC) has made tremendous efforts to incorporate and promote local programmes drawn from indigenous cultural activities. The ZNBC has made an effort to broadcast vernacular programmes on radio and this has been done through the dedication of a specific radio station that has programme slots for the major languages that represent the main language groups of the country. These languages include: Bemba, Kaonde, Luvale, Tonga, Lozi and Nyanja (Kapambwe 2008). For the sake of this research, I will focus on the Bemba programmes produced by ZNBC. According to Kapambwe (2008), the Head of the Bemba Section of the ZNBC, the following programmes are aired on radio:

- *Ilyashi* (Current affairs news);
- *Imilumbe ne nshimi* (Stories without songs and stories with songs);
- *Bana chimbusa* (Discussion programme on marriage traditions and customs);
- *Kabusha takolelwe bowa* (Discussion of social, political and economic issues);
- *Bamushika nyimbo* (Music);
- *Malikopo* (Variety of games including riddles and tongue twisters);
- *Ifyabukaya* (Radio drama);
- *Konsaati* (Music);
- *Kalapashi* (Social commentaries on old and new life styles in both rural and urban areas).

Kapambwe continues that the content of the programmes has been tailored to provide the viewers with the Bemba traditions, customs and values, acknowledging that, as much as Bemba people continue to have contact with other people from other parts of the world, there is need for the preservation of Bemba culture and traditions. Chasaya (2008) further points out that, as radio presenters, the staff at ZNBC conduct research and verify information on materials that they prepare for different programmes before they present them. With all the

efforts and refinements made to improve vernacular programmes, the questions that seem to be outstanding are: (a) who listens to these programmes? and (b) how do they view these programmes?

From semi-structured interviews¹⁷ that I conducted with secondary school pupils, it was clear that they (the youths) do not favour most of the programmes in the vernacular save for *ifyabukaya* (drama). What came out strongly was that the *ifyabukaya* programme is well received by the youth because it features story lines that they can identify with (everyday happenings) and *ichikopabeeluti* (which is easy and exiting to listen to) is used as opposed to *ichiBemba nkonko* (standard Bemba). The purpose of structuring the vernacular programmes as they are today is mainly to draw meaning and guidance in a new society as well as provide entertainment for listeners. Furthermore, the idea is also to maintain tribal oral traditions in which folk stories, myths, proverbs and songs have meanings and often direct lessons or morals such as are common to other cultures (Powdermaker 1962).

With the advent of new technologies in mass media, the radio has lost its grip on its intended audience, especially the youths, who opt for other forms of electronic media such as television, and also recorded visuals from video and digital video devices. Furthermore, Mukupa (2007) observes that because of increased access to computers, youths prefer to watch movies, listen to music and play games on computers instead of listening to the radio or watching television. According to Chambula (2007), a pupil from Kabulonga Girls' Secondary School, what is so attractive and lucrative about using the computer is that for as long as one has access to the internet, one can download materials from different websites, thereby gaining access to the world at large. Furthermore, (Mwansa 2007) adds that with the development of gadgets such as mobile portable audio and video players (such as Discman, Mp3 and Mp4 players and iPods), it is no longer necessary to sit in one place in order to listen to music or watch a movie as these can be heard and viewed on the portable devices. In addition, Chabu (2007) points out that with these gadgets one can carry around thousands of songs on a small instrument that produces very good sound.¹⁸

¹⁷ The data captured during these interviews were analysed in a qualitative manner and not quantitatively.

¹⁸ Chambula's, Mwansa's and Chabu's views represent the general observations made by the groups of learners I interviewed in different schools.

The development of portable music players has left listening to radios mostly to the adults. With regards to technological advancements, Kapambwe (2008) points out that despite the increase in portable musical equipment, efforts are being made to keep up with the times by including, for instance, music programmes that are attractive to both the adults and young ones. Kapambwe further points out that in Zambia not every child can afford to buy or access a computer or gadgets like iPods. Therefore, it is hoped that for such children the radio should provide a cheaper alternative. Though the views on listenership by the pupils I interviewed as well as views by Kapambwe are noted, there is a need for an empirical survey to be conducted in order to ascertain the current situation in the country. Be that as it may, I can only assume that the claims are valid and represent the prevailing situation.

5.3 Ceremonies and rituals

After examining *ubwinga* in the pre-colonial era and white weddings in the post-independence era, it turned out that both have eight ceremonies. However, *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies are common to both models. The marked difference in *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies is the time it is performed. During the pre-colonial times it appeared as the sixth stage to be performed, whereas during the post-colonial era it appears as the last stage of the ceremonies. In the former era it was obligatory for *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies to be performed, while in the latter era it is optional. In some cases it has been entirely omitted. The researcher witnessed 5 out of 25 white wedding ceremonies where the *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremony was not performed. The main common reasons for the omission of the ceremony among the 5 weddings include the following:

- The couples usually prearrange to go on honeymoon soon after the wedding;
- Some Pentecostal churches do not encourage the idea of mixing Christian ceremonies with traditional ones;
- Some families viewed indigenous ceremonies as not matching their social status in society;
- Some families do not know how to conduct the ceremonies.

In the post-independence period the *ichilangamulilo* ceremony has become a separate ceremony, with its own day for performance, as opposed to the pre-colonial period where this ceremony was incorporated into *utiya ubwinga* ceremonies. However, the marked differences of *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies of the two eras are (a) in the type and amount of food presented to *shibwinga*; (b) the number of guests invited to attend the ceremony; and (c) the inclusion of a *braai* (barbeque) party. With regards to the food presented, the difference is

that some common foreign dishes such as rice, sweet potatoes and pasta, and drinks such as Fanta, Coca Cola, Sprite and Mosi lager have been included (see Appendix N).¹⁹ In recent times *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies are no longer a family affair, and hence the number of invited guests is usually large. This development has resulted in *shibwinga*'s family supplementing the food from *nabwinga*'s family with their own, thereby affecting the general structure of the ceremony.

Amafunde (marriage instructions) which are the core of *ubwinga* ceremonies and rituals continued throughout all the eight stages of *ubwinga* during the pre-colonial times. Over the years *amafunde* have become abbreviated and organised into a separate ceremony that runs for a period of varying duration depending on the discretion of the family concerned.²⁰ *Ukupanga ichupo* (consummation of marriage) is another ceremony that has been detached from stage five (*Ukutiya ubwinga*) of the pre-colonial era and currently turned into a separate and very exclusive ceremony. In the pre-colonial era the consummation of the marriage ceremony did not only serve the purpose of marriage instructions, but also enacted the beginning of *ubwinga* festivities. The current time at which it is performed is after the fifth stage, the wedding reception, and as such does not satisfy the initial idea of enacting *ubwinga* festivities. Because of clashes with Christian beliefs, some churches do not permit the consummation ceremony to take place and as such some families treat it as an optional ceremony and not as obligatory, as it was in the early days.

Ubwinga ceremonies have been celebrated with feasting. Of the food and drink that was served at the ceremonies, traditional beer (*Chipumu* and *Katubi*) had symbolic importance to the extent that if it was not available, its absence would affect the overall format and meaning of the ceremonies (see Appendix O). In the pre-colonial era certain ceremonies and rituals coincided with the preparation of the wedding beer (for instance, *Ubwalwa bwa bwinga*, *Ukupota ubwalwa* and *ukuchilika musambi*) and drew their titles from the same activities related to the making of the beer. However, the symbolic importance of traditional beer has been overtaken by the availability of commercially brewed beer (Mosi, Castle, Rhino and

¹⁹ Although families make an effort to procure Bemba traditional foods, it has become necessary to include the common foreign foods. However, the inclusion of foreign foods does not distort the purpose and meaning of *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies.

²⁰ *Amafunde* may last between two to four weekends.

Chibuku) that is obtained from liquor stores. This development has rendered the ceremonies that were based on the preparation of beer to be insignificant and thereby discarded.

With regards to the substitution of traditional beer for the commercial product, Musumbulwa (1990) points out that in the urban centres it is not easy for families to get people to brew traditional beer or even to buy it. Commercially brewed beer serves as an easily accessible alternative. Besides lack of competent people to brew traditional beer in the urban areas, the ban on unlicensed brewing of beer by the municipalities and township councils has also contributed to the omission of traditional beer at wedding ceremonies. Despite the difficulty in obtaining traditional beer, some families have ensured that it is included as part of the drinks for the festivities, although it is not regarded as the main drink. In fact the common practice is for traditional beer to be served to the elderly people when they congregate at both *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*'s parents' homes.²¹ This implies that it is not served at any of the public functions such as the wedding reception or aftermath.²²

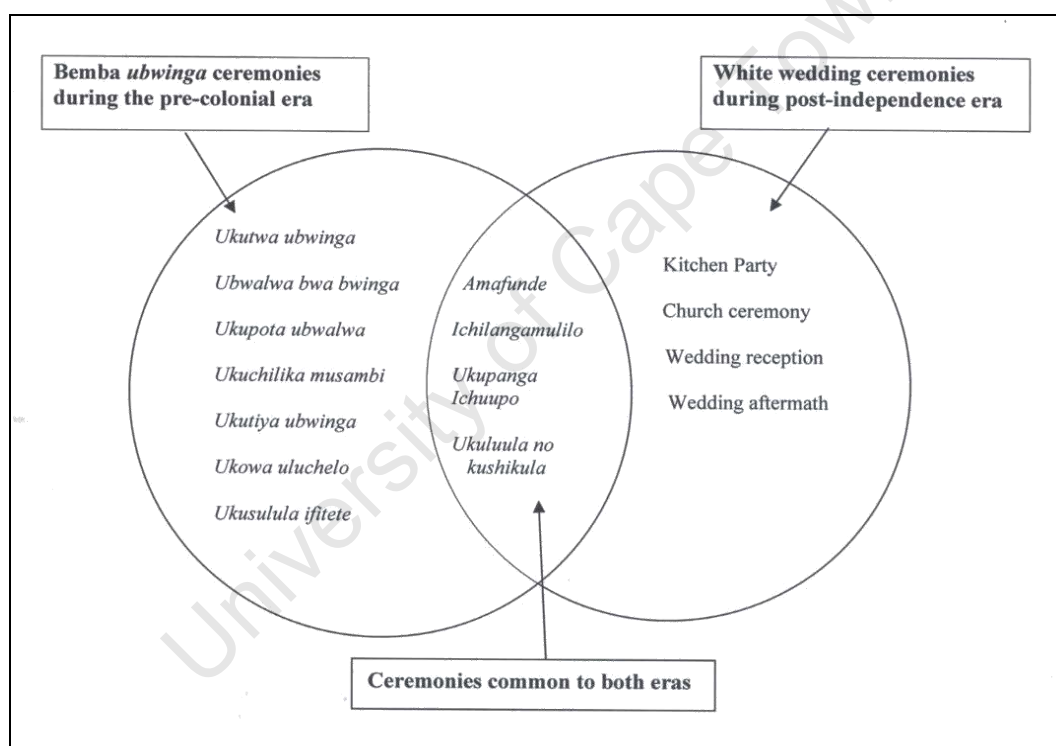
The church ceremony, wedding reception and subsequent rituals were incorporated into Bemba wedding ceremonies from the colonial era and the time of the spreading of Christianity in Zambia. Through the years these ceremonies have become the main parts of Bemba weddings in the peri-urban and urban centres. Indigenous prayers have been discarded completely, especially the *ukutwa ubwinga* ceremony at which they were conducted has also been done away with. The tension between indigenous beliefs and Christian beliefs has given rise to separation of rituals and ceremonies. However, one ceremony which shares elements from both indigenous and white wedding ceremonies is the kitchen party. Though the kitchen party is organised and set in a Western style, the instructions to the *nabwinga* and the rituals performed are based on the Bemba traditions and customs drawn from *chisungu* and Bemba marriage ceremonies. The kitchen party also draws elements from the 'domestic club', already mentioned earlier on, where a newly married young woman conducted domestic chores such as cooking together with her sisters and her mother until she was confident to manage her own home with less assistance.

²¹ It is very rare to find young people drinking traditional beer, firstly because they are not used to it and secondly because it is associated with being backward (a view stemming from negative colonial mentality).

²² Since preparation of traditional beer is omitted from the post-independence wedding ceremonies, the marriage instructions and rituals that went with the process also died a natural death.

Pre-colonial public *ubwinga* ceremonies were celebrated at the home of *nabwinga*'s parents. A private celebration was also organised at *shibwinga*'s parents' home after the public ceremonies were over. Kangwa (2007) observes that nowadays the trend is to hold wedding ceremonies, especially the reception, at hired venues such as recreation clubs, hotels, restaurants and other commercial places. However, some families, especially those with reasonably big gardens or those who cannot afford it, prefer to hold weddings at their homes instead of hired venues. With regards to selection of venues for wedding ceremonies, Mwesa (2007) notes that the shift from celebrating weddings at the home of *nabwinga*'s parents is partly because of the large numbers of invited guests and also because for some people certain venues are prestigious and therefore associated with high status.

Figure 5.1 Comparison of wedding ceremonies in different eras



5.4 Preparation and financing

During the pre-colonial era preparations for *ubwinga* lay entirely in the hands of the marrying couple's parents, who were assisted by their close relatives and selected elders from within the community for specific roles. The main role players in the preparations of *ubwinga* included: the parents of the *nabwinga*, selected uncles and aunts, and the parents of the *shibwinga* and their relatives. *Shibukombe* played the role of coordinator between the two families – that of the *nabwinga* and that of the *shibwinga* – as the preparations were being made. Since *ubwinga* ceremonies also involved marriage instructions, selected *banachimbusa*

were also involved in the preparations as they organised and put together their props and materials for teaching. *Ubwinga* preparations were done in two camps, that of the *nabwinga*'s family and that of the *shibwinga*'s. Since the hosting of *ubwinga* ceremonies lay in the hands of the *nabwinga*'s parents, her family took a leading role in all the arrangements being made. While this was happening the *nabwinga*'s family maintained a steady flow of information between them, the family of the *shibwinga* and the marriage instructors. What did the *ubwinga* preparations entail? On the part of the *nabwinga*'s parents, the major tasks in preparation of *ubwinga* included:

- Procurement of food and ingredients for the making of beer for the rituals and ceremonial festivities;
- Managing and liaising with the marriage instructors;
- Inviting guests for the different ceremonies.

On the part of *shibwinga*'s parents, the major tasks in preparation of *ubwinga* included:

- Procurement of food for the ceremony to be held at their home;
- Managing and liaising with marriage instructors (*Shibukombe* and helpers).

In all the preparations and arrangements made for *ubwinga*, the *nabwinga* and *shibwinga* were not part of the discussions, but instead their parents acted on their behalf. The same applies to the financing of *ubwinga*, which also lay in the hands of the parents during the pre-colonial times. Contributions by other family members and community members supplemented any shortfalls.

In the post-independence period preparations and financing of the white wedding has shifted from being entirely the parents' responsibility to being that of the marrying couple. What has been happening is that the couple concerned (*nabwinga* and *shibwinga*) would select and form what is known as the 'wedding committee', which would mainly comprise *nabwinga*, *shibwinga*, members of the bridal party (bride's maids and best men), matron of honour and representatives from *nabwinga*'s and *shibwinga*'s families. From this 'central committee' sub-committees are formed and these sub-groups would deal with specific duties that are delegated to them by a selected member of the central committee who would act as the head of that sub-committee. The sub-committees that usually emerge from the central committee include:

- Bride's maids committee (headed by *nabwinga*);
- Best men's committee (headed by *shibwinga*);
- Entertainment committee (headed by a selected member of the central committee);
- Catering committee (headed by the matron of honour and a selected family member);

- Transport committee (headed by a selected member of the central committee);
- Finance committee (headed by *shibwinga*).

A summary of the relation of wedding committees is presented in Appendix P:

These various committees have specific roles and their group leaders are responsible for setting up dates for meetings, systems of communication and ensuring that deadlines for tasks are met. During the meetings each committee keeps a written record of their proceedings in order for them to keep track of the progress being made and even to identify areas that require attention.

Preparatory meetings are convened a couple of months before the actual wedding ceremonies commence. From the committees that the researcher had an opportunity to meet during fieldwork and also based on personal experience as a committee member, 14 out of 25 committees spent 11 months preparing for the wedding. The times of meeting during this period varied from once a month during the initial six months, to twice a month during the next two months, weekly in the next two months and daily in the month before the wedding ceremonies. A summary of committee operations is presented in Appendix Q.

Financing or sponsoring of the wedding does not only end with food for the festivities and for tokens for marriage instructors, as was the case in the pre-colonial period. The expenses in the post-independence period, especially in the new millennium, have increased in the sense that requirements in terms of clothing (costumes for the bridal party),²³ hiring of the venues for certain ceremonies, hiring music equipment or a band to provide music entertainment for the guests at the wedding reception and the aftermath, transport for the bridal party to the different ceremonies (church, reception, aftermath), and for other costs such as token gifts for the priest, master of ceremonies, security (door bouncers) at the reception, people decorating different venues and cars, and the matron of honour. With the shift in the invitation method from that of the pre-colonial times, when all family members, friends and community members were invited by word of mouth, today the system has changed to invitation by means of cards. This development entails incurring costs for printing cards to be distributed to

²³ The attire for members of the bridal party is either sponsored by both *nabwinga* (for the bride's maids and herself) and *shibwinga* (for the best men and himself) and for the flower girl(s) and page boy(s). The matron is usually responsible for buying her own attire. In some cases the bride's maids and best men contribute funds for the purchase of their attire.

the invited guests and this responsibility lies in the hands of the couple.²⁴ It is common practice for the wedding couple to throw a thank-you party for the committee members soon after the wedding ceremonies have been concluded. This event also requires separate funds to be set aside for it. From the requirements listed above, it is clear that post-independence wedding ceremonies entail a greater and more comprehensive expenditure, therefore more funds have to be obtained for the wedding ceremonies to be performed successfully.

Furthermore, as Kangwa (2007) observes, there are other factors beyond what is required for performing wedding ceremonies that affect or determine the amount of money to be spent for this purpose. These factors also include the prevailing economic climate in the country at the time of the wedding and also the number of invited guests expected to attend. To meet the high financial requirements couples have to exhaust the various options at their disposal. Hamusankwa (2007)²⁵ points out that some couples often receive assistance from parents; some of them also solicit help from friends and relatives, while some may even engage in fund-raising ventures such as buying and selling different kinds of merchandise. In cases where the parents are fully involved in the financing of the wedding, the couple are still the main role players in deciding how and what to spend the money on. The parents are only fully responsible for the traditional ceremonies such as *ichilangamulilo*, *ukupanga ichuupo* and *ukuluula* and *ukushikula*. In some cases where the couple are financially sound, their parents are entirely exempted from contributing financially.

²⁴ The system of inviting guests for ceremonies by card applies to the kitchen party, reception and aftermath, while for the other ceremonies guests are invited by word of mouth.

²⁵ Hamusankwa's view represents the observations made by students from Evelyn Hone, College for Teachers of the Handicapped and Kitwe Teachers' College.

Table 5.3 Financial responsibilities for the couple and their parents

Ceremonies	Pre-colonial	Post-independence
<i>Ukusonga</i> and <i>Ukukobekela</i> (Marriage proposal and engagement)	<i>Shibwinga</i>	<i>Shibwinga</i>
<i>Insalamo</i> (Marriage payments)	<i>Shibwinga</i>	<i>Shibwinga</i>
<i>Ukutwa ubwing</i>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	-
<i>Ubwalwa bwa bwinga</i>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	-
<i>Ukupota ubwalwa</i>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	-
<i>Ukuchilika musambi</i>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	-
<i>Ukutiya ubwinga</i>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	-
<i>Ukowa uluchelo</i>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	-
<i>Ukusulula ifitete</i>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	-
<i>Ichilangamulilo</i> ceremony (food offering ceremony): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food and drinks Token gifts for <i>bana chimbusa</i> 	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents
Kitchen party: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Production of invitation cards Catering and refreshments for the guests 	-	<i>Nabwinga</i>
Church service: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Token gift for the celebrating priest or donation to the church 	-	<i>Shibwinga</i>
Wedding reception: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Venue Decorations for the venue DJ or Band Production of invitation cards Attire for members of the bridal party Catering and refreshments for guests Photographs 	-	<i>Nabwinga</i> and <i>shibwinga</i>
Wedding aftermath: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Venue DJ or Band Production of invitation cards Refreshments for guests 	-	<i>Nabwinga</i> and <i>shibwinga</i>
<i>Ukupanga ichuupo</i> (Consummation of marriage) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Token gifts for <i>bana chimbusa</i> and <i>ba shibukombe</i> 	The couple's parents	The couple's parents
<i>Ukuluula</i> and <i>ukushikula</i> (Undoing of taboos ceremony) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Refreshments for guests 	The couple's parents	The couple's parents

5.5 The musical arts

The modifications and in some cases the omission of certain wedding ceremonies and rituals have affected the musical arts which in the pre-colonial era served as the main form of imparting marriage instructions while at the same time providing entertainment. However, this cannot be said about wedding music in current ceremonies. Firstly, nowadays each wedding ceremony has its own type of music that accompanies the formal proceedings. Secondly, a combination of *mfunkutu* marriage music, contemporary gospel music and secular music is performed at particular ceremonies such as the kitchen party. At the wedding reception either contemporary gospel music is performed, in the case of a 'Christian wedding',²⁶ or a combination of contemporary gospel with secular music. Whereas *mfunkutu* songs and dances dominated all the wedding ceremonies in the pre-colonial period, music from other genres such as popular, rock, jazz, Latino, reggae, Congolese rumba, rap, hip-hop, raga, contemporary African and Zambian music etc. dominates wedding ceremonies nowadays.²⁷

The church ceremony music is selected from that of the particular denomination such as Catholic, Anglican, Reformed Church and United Church.²⁸ Depending upon the music organisation of a particular church, wedding songs are either accompanied or unaccompanied. Music is either accompanied by the organ, piano or by a live band (a common characteristic of Pentecostal churches). Selection of music for a church service depends upon the celebrating priest or pastor and the couple (the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga*). Furthermore, music for certain routine marches for the entry and exit processions for the bridal party is selected and prepared by the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga*. Routine marches are not obligatory as some couples opt simply to make their entry and exit unaccompanied by music, but the entry of the *nabwinga* is always accompanied by the wedding march 'Here comes the bride', either played on organ or piano or from a recording. The music of the church ceremony is performed with strict adherence to a pre-planned structured programme arranged by the celebrating clergy.

²⁶ 'Christian wedding' usually refers to Pentecostal church weddings.

²⁷ Though there is a relatively large community of Indians in Zambia, the author has not encountered a wedding ceremony where Indian or other Asian music is played at any of the ceremonies. This is an area that requires further investigation, although this has not been possible this time because many research participants could not provide logical explanations.

²⁸ The Catholic, Anglican, Reformed Church and United Church use their own church hymns, while Pentecostal churches make use of their praise and worship gospel music.

Mutale (2007) notes that the usual practice is that a print out of the church programme is made available to the guests before the service begins. Mutale further notes that, though Bemba traditional marriage ceremonies are also structured, the idea of a written programme does not exist. And most importantly songs, dances and mimes are performed in two ways:

- Firstly, those that are performed at particular ceremonies and for specific rituals; and
- Secondly, those that can be performed at any ceremony (for instance, a *chisungu* song can be sung at *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* or at *ukwingisha*).

In some instances during some indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies the order of songs depends upon the rituals being performed, while in other ceremonies no specific order is expected as participants are free to select their own songs. Furthermore, the performer of the song assumes the role of leader as the singing proceeds, while the rest of the participants act as a supporting chorus (Lumbwe 2004:129–155). Accompanying dances also follow a similar pattern as that of the performance of songs, as the two go together simultaneously.

As for mime and dramatisation, these are also performed at specific ceremonies and rituals especially during *amafunde*, *ichilangamulilo* and *ukwingisha*.²⁹ Though mime and dramatisation are not a feature of the white wedding ceremonies, the author has witnessed four wedding receptions on the Copperbelt where dramatisation was used for delivering marriage instructions to the couple. The common denominator of these four wedding receptions was that the couples all belonged to the Jehovah's Witness Church. Chibambo (2007) points out that dramatisation is used in the church for the purposes of disseminating good morals and Christian values.

The music of the wedding reception could be divided into two categories:

1. Music pieces that are prescribed for specific activities such as:

- Entry and exit processions (routine dance steps performed by the bridal party);
- Presentation of the knife for cutting the cake;
- Cutting of the cake (by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*);
- Bride's maids taking away of the cake for preparation for serving;
- Serving of the cake by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga* (to their parents);
- Opening of the dance floor (by the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga*).

²⁹ Although much of this section is written in the present tense, the activities described here also represent the performances of the pre-colonial times. For details of the *ukwingisha* ceremonies see Appendix R.

2. Random selections that are played as the following activities take place:

- Serving of food and drinks to the invited guests;
- General dancing (here guests are free to dance);
- Presentation of gifts by the guests to the couple.

Selection of the music for activities in the first category is entirely done by the couple (*nabwinga* and *shibwinga*), while that of the second category is left at the discretion the DJ or band leader in the case where a live band has been hired. The music performed at wedding receptions is usually contemporary and selected from the popular hits of the time. Accompanying routine dance steps for the processions are choreographed either by members of the bridal party or by a hired specialist. To enhance the occasions and performances, the bridal party usually dresses up in elaborate and flamboyant costumes designed to the couple's taste. From the colonial era through to the post-independence era, the *nabwinga*'s gown has been white in colour. However, the current trend is that other colours such as cream have become very common. Otherwise, for the bride's maids local and other African fabrics are preferred as opposed to Western ones.

Ukuluula and *ukushikula* are the only ceremonies where Bemba indigenous marriage *mfunkutu* songs have been retained. However, the music is usually used for reinforcing marriage lessons and so it is usually set as the introductory part of the lessons followed by a brief commentary. In this case the singing is not accompanied by drumming, but instead by hand clapping. Furthermore, the songs performed here are very brief. The main difference between *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies of the pre-colonial times and that of the current times is that at present there are fewer people who know traditional marriage songs, and therefore most people simply make short speeches (Chitwansombo 2006).

5.6 Summary

This chapter has identified that Bemba *ubwinga* of the pre-colonial era and white wedding ceremonies of the post-independence era have eight stages of performance. However, the following ceremonies: *ukutwa ubwinga*, *ubwalwa bwa bwinga*, *ukupota ubwalwa*, *ukuchilika musambi*, *ukutiya ubwinga*, *ukowa uluchelo*, and *ukusulula ifitete* from the pre-colonial period have been discarded and replaced by Christian and Western ceremonials: kitchen party, church service, wedding reception and wedding aftermath. *Ichilangamulilo* and *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* are common to both periods. *Amafunde* (marriage instructions), which formed the core of all stages of *ubwinga* ceremonies during the pre-colonial era, have been abbreviated

and performed as a separate ceremony. The enactment of *ubwinga* festivities, which was done by performance of *ukupanga ichuupo* ritual (consummation of marriage), has been shifted to become part of the concluding ceremonies. The responsibility for preparing and organising *ubwinga* ceremonies has shifted from the parents to the couple wedding.

The changes and omissions of certain *ubwinga* ceremonies have in turn affected the organisation and performance of musical arts. A lot of marriage *mfunkutu* songs, dances and dramatisation have been discarded, while time other music such as gospel, rhumba, pop, reggae and country, among others, have been incorporated. Music performed at white wedding ceremonies is purely meant for entertainment, while marriage *mfunkutu* music has maintained its main purpose of conveying marriage instructions. This development has resulted in clashes between indigenous and contemporary practices. Clashes result mainly because of the increase in invited guests and the choice of venues, which can be either indoors or outdoors.

The main causes of change in Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies include the assimilation of new life styles by *amachona* during the colonial era. Therefore, socio-cultural activities of the colonial era have had a great impact on *ubwinga* ceremonies of the post-independence period. The shift from rural homogeneous to heterogeneous socio-cultural communities in urban areas gave rise to new life experiences with regards to socioeconomic, political and cultural aspects for *amachona*. Stratification of residents within compounds and townships was based on a person's occupation, and this led to the development of social groupings. These classes – including clerks, domestic workers and labourers, among others – to a great extent determined what sort of status one held in community. The formation of classes came about as a result of *amachona* being exposed to Western education and advanced technologies. The effect of Western civilization gave rise to new attitudes among the Zambian people in urban centres that led in the long run it led to breaks in kinship ties with their counterparts in the rural areas. Furthermore, the adoption of English as the official language in the country has had an effect on ichiBemba, and this is evident in the development of *ichikopabeluti* (a variant of ichiBemba spoken in the urban areas of Zambia).

Chapter Six

Indigenous *mfunkutu* and contemporary wedding music of the Bemba-speaking people: continuity and change

6.1 Introduction

According to Mapoma, ‘tradition has it that one cannot tell a lie through music without being found out promptly’ (Mapoma 1980:46). From this statement it can be deduced that a close study of the music of a group of people can inform a researcher about the socio-cultural environment of that group. Through music many aspects of life can be taught within a short period of time and, for the initiate, music aids in the memorisation of information being learnt.

The word ‘music’ in this research should not be confused with some Western interpretations, as the Bemba equivalent may mean ‘song’ in Western music. Among the Bemba the terms *ulwimbo* (song)¹ and *ingoma* (drum) are used interchangeably to indicate music, although the term *ingoma* is used more often; wherever drumming is heard there would be singing and dancing (Mapoma 1980:36). Different genres of music are described as *ingoma ya chisungu*, *ingoma ya kalela* (lit. ‘the drum of *chisungu*’ and the ‘drum of *kalela*’ respectively). Even when referring to contemporary music it is common to hear of *ingoma ya kalindula* (‘the music of *kalindula*’), *ingoma ya kwa PK Chishala* (‘the music of PK Chishala’). In all these cases the word *ingoma* has been used to refer to music and not the drum.

There are five genres that constitute Bemba indigenous music:² *Inyimbo sha baiche* (Children’s music: games and story songs), *Imipukumo* (Topical songs that carry a didactical

¹ Some songs do not carry a melody, but are sung rhythmically sounding almost monotonously, following the tonal inflections (natural contours) of the Bemba language. Such songs could be described by some Western music-oriented persons as ‘chanting rhythmic recitation’ (Lumbwe 2004). With regards to the description of sub-Saharan African music in general, Rhodes (1959:6) warns against evaluating and interpreting African music in terms and concepts that are European rather than African. In his warning Rhodes states that in trying to study African musics researchers have tended to make general statements disregarding the views of the indigenous people who own the music being discussed. This is evident in claims such as ‘[t]he African is rarely articulate in explaining the theory and aesthetic of his music’ (Rhodes 1959:6). Statements such as these ignore the fact that people on the continent of Africa have their own way of describing the nature and beauty of their musics, expressed in their own languages. Recently Agawu, among others, also touched on this issue (Agawu 2003). Direct translations into any language should therefore be handled with great care.

² Mapoma, in his study ‘The determinants of style in the music of *ingomba*’ (1980) provided a taxonomy and classification system of Bemba music. His study dealt with the *ingomba*, the royal musicians who not only performed for the chief, but also composed music. To a large extent they fulfilled the role of custodians of indigenous Bemba culture.

text, such as, for example, work-songs), *Chilumbu* also known as *Ifimbo fya malilo* (Funeral music); *Kalela* (Music for the *Kalela* dance) and *Mfunkutu*.³ The latter genre consists of two categories, namely (a) general music, for example, for beer parties and coronation ceremonies; and (b) marriage music. Bemba music can be accompanied (for example, *chisungu*, *ichilangamulilo*, *ubwinga* and *ukwingisha*) or unaccompanied.⁴

Weddings are a part of marriage ceremonies that the Bemba conceptualise as rites of passage in which the musical arts (song, dance and drama) are a medium of instruction, communicating meaning and value. (Mapoma 1980:46; Lumbwe 2004:131). The focus of this chapter is on the musical arts embedded in Bemba wedding ceremonies, examining the functional role they play and how they are utilised, with special attention to what has changed and what has continued, as well as identifying the forces responsible for change.

In order to examine continuity and change in the characteristics of Bemba wedding music Gluckman's (1940) method of presentation⁵ has been adopted for this study. To begin with, the nature of *mfunkutu* (wedding music) in pre-colonial times is described, followed by a discussion of changes during colonial and post-colonial times. Based on the analysis of 28 marriage *mfunkutu* songs, important aspects such as language, song, song text, rhythm, melody, multi-part singing, instrumentation, performance style, dance and dramatisation are discussed in an isolated environment, while the various aspects of change are also addressed. This analysis will be followed by the discussion of the musical elements of the 'white wedding' that have been added since the colonial and post-colonial eras. This chapter thus represents the Bemba wedding at the beginning of the twenty-first century, as the ceremony is currently a combination of indigenous and contemporary developments.

³ The four genres were derived from the works by Ng'andu (1922), Etienne (1937), Richards (1939; 1940; 1956), Mitchell (1956), Labrecque (1947), Tanguay (1948), Whiteley (1951), Jones (1959), Lunsonga (1965), Makashi (1970), Kambole (1980), Corbeil (1982), Ng'andu (1999, 2009) and Lumbwe (2004).

⁴ Accompaniment within the Bemba context refers to the inclusion of drumming.

⁵ This method was also adopted by Mitchell (1956) in his study of the *Kalela* dance on the Copperbelt of Zambia. According to this method, the researcher starts with a description of the ceremony, followed by an isolation of the important elements of the ceremony, tracing them in the larger society. This is done to illustrate their significance in their ceremony, followed by a final historical and sociological analysis of the total structure. In this study the historical and sociological analysis is intertwined with the discussion of the isolated elements.

6.2 *Mfunkutu*: indigenous wedding music of the Bemba

According to Mapoma (1980:38), *mfunkutu* is not only a name of a specific dance, but also a generic name of a specific genre of music which is performed by ‘older’ Bemba at social functions such as weddings, beer parties or at a presentation ceremony. The dance refers to specific movements called *ukuifukutawila*, which include the shuffling of feet, twisting of the waist, and the up-and-down movements of the arms by the dancer.

Following Mapoma’s description it is clear that the music genre of *mfunkutu* derived its name from the *mfunkutu* dance.⁶ Mulenga, whose view represents other performers interviewed by the researcher, described *mfunkutu* as:

Imfunkutu musango umo uwakuchindilamo. Elyo kabili imfunkutu ine yalikwata no musango wakwimbilamo nao uwitwa imfunkutu. Na mumusango wa chiBemba imfunkutu kubika pamoimichindile, imibile elyo nefyo mulelanga kubantu. [Mfunkutu is a way of dancing. At the same time mfunkutu has got a style of singing that is also called mfunkutu. Within the Bemba way of life mfunkutu is the amalgamation of the style of dancing, style of singing and the style of performance.] (Mulenga 2008)

This is borne out by the researcher’s fieldwork and also oral history and personal experience, as well as performers of *mfunkutu* such as *banakulu*. From the point of view of the listener who has experienced *mfunkutu*, Kambole notes that:

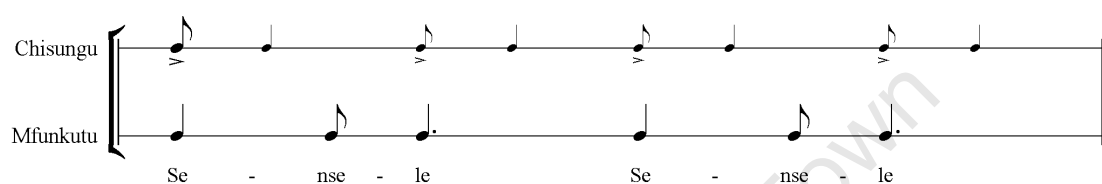
Imfunkutu ni ngoma elyo kabili imfunkutu ine nayo yalikwata nemichindile iyitwaneshina limoline’
[*Mfunkutu* is music at the same time it has an accompanying dance also known as *Mfunkutu*.]
(Kambole 2002)

Kambole continues that the *mfunkutu* dance can be distinguished from other Bemba dances and *mfunkutu* music from other music genres by the style of drumming and dancing. The Zambian scholars have tried to combine the description of *mfunkutu* by the practitioners with an ethnomusicological perspective. Mapoma’s description of *mfunkutu* was provided at the start of this section, equating the dance with the music. Ng’andu (2009) describes *mfunkutu* as a performance phenomenon, explaining that *mfunkutu* has a basic template or framework from which singing, dancing and performance are derived. From the descriptions of *mfunkutu* provided by different people familiar with it, what is clear is that there are complexities that underlie the fundamental characteristics, which need to be clearly understood before drawing conclusions about the nature of *mfunkutu*. Mapoma (1980) found that within the music characteristics of *mfunkutu*, variations could be identified based on comparisons drawn from the style of playing the drum rhythms that are played either by females or males. These

⁶ In order to avoid confusion the following terms are used throughout this thesis: ‘*mfunkutu* music’, ‘*mfunkutu* dance’ and ‘*mfunkutu*’ for the combination of the two.

variations are described by the Bemba through expressions such as the following: ‘*Iyo ulelisha ni ngoma ya chanakashi*’ (‘That rhythm you are playing is the one played by women’). ‘*Iyo ulelisha ni ngoma ya chaume*’ (‘That rhythm you are playing is the one played by men’). These expressions and variant patterns highlight the fact that some *mfunkutu* rhythms such as for beer parties or the coronation of the chief and the first food celebration should be played by males. Females play at *chisungu* (Bemba girls’ initiation) and other *mfunkutu* marriage ceremonies. The result could be represented as follows:

Figure 6.1 *Mfunkutu* drumming (*Sensele* drum rhythms in *mfunkutu* of *chisungu* and *mfunkutu* for men’s functions)



Mapoma further points out that in the Bemba *sense* musical types that employ similar drum ensembles are distinguished by their patterns. In these ensembles, for instance, the drum commonly referred to as *sensele* derives its name from the mnemonic sounds of the rhythmic pattern played on it. However, in the case of *chisungu* rhythm it does not conform to the mnemonic sound and hence its name *sensele* in this case is merely a generic term to describe the type of drum.

Though *mfunkutu* songs⁷ are a corpus of songs that serve any aspect of Bemba social life, marriage songs based on *mfunkutu* are confined to certain social situations which Arom (1991:8–9) categorises as institutional and ritual, and therefore not always accessible to the general public, but only to those that have undergone the specific rites of passage. In this case the music follows strict prescriptions as regards to the contextual framework within which it is performed.

Within the indigenous Bemba marriage context different ceremonies such as *ichilangamulilo*, *ukulasa imbusa*, *ubwinga* and *ukwingisha* may use the same song. These songs are therefore not confined to one context, but may be applicable to two or more of these ceremonies. To determine continuity and change in wedding songs, the reader is referred to Appendix Q,

⁷ The meaning of ‘song’ here is literal, referring to singing without other components of music making.

which presents an excerpt from Mapoma's classification system of *mfunkutu* music (Mapoma 1980:339–347).

6.2.1 Text in relation to language and music

In the discussion of the relationship between language and music, with specific reference to *mfunkutu* marriage music, it is important to pay attention to the following aspects: basic characteristics of the Bemba language and its influences on music, the semantics related to *mfunkutu* as displayed on various levels, the influence of text changes and interpolations on rhythmic aspects, as well as aspects of change in general that have occurred since pre-colonial times.

6.2.1a General characteristics of the Bemba language

It is important to have a basic understanding of Bantu languages before embarking on a discussion of the meaning of song texts. In extensive studies on ichiBemba linguists such as Epstein (1958), Kashoki (1972) and Mann (1977) indicate that the manner in which a word is pronounced may influence its meaning. Although these Zambian linguists have discussed the tonality of the Bemba language, it was only Ng'andu and Herbst (2004:49) who connected the tonality of ichiBemba words, which have their own natural up-and-down pitch movement, to music making.⁸ Scholars, such as Jones and Kombe (1952) and Agawu (1995) in their studies of sub-Saharan African music also addressed issues of tonality. Agawu in his study of the West African music of the Ewe and Siwu people notes that there are:

[I]anguages in which variations in the relative pitch of syllables often determine [their] lexical meaning. Individual tones or tonemes represent bands or intervals of pitch activity, and they differ in number according to language. (Agawu 1995:33)

Some Bemba words only have one meaning, while others may have either two or three meanings thereby rendering them bi- or tri-tonal (low, middle and high). The importance of correct pronunciation of words applying a specific pitch contour influences the meaning.

⁸ Agawu (1995:33) in his study of the West African music of the Ewe and Siwu people notes that 'languages in which variations in the relative pitch of syllables often determine lexical meaning. Individual tones or tonemes represent bands or intervals of pitch activity, and they differ in number according to language'.

Table 6.1 Examples to illustrate the tonality of selected Bemba words (Ministry of Education 1977:34–58)

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
<i>Bemba</i>	Language	<i>Ifumo</i>	stomach or womb
<i>Beemba</i>	Sea	<i>Ifuumo</i>	spear
<i>Ukupepa</i>	To pray	<i>Ukupela</i>	to grind
<i>Ukupeepa</i>	To smoke	<i>Ukupeela</i>	to give
<i>Ukushika</i>	To play	<i>Akapanga</i>	small skull/small bush
<i>Ukushiika</i>	To bury	<i>Akapaanga</i>	small sheep/lamb
<i>Ukushiiika</i>	To stop	<i>Akapaaanga</i>	he/she will make

The characteristics of tonal languages could have a significant impact on musical structures such as rhythm and melodic contours. Although singers may exercise ‘freedom in the enunciation of text phrases’ (Arom 1991:19), they have to be mindful that improvisation is restricted by the speech tones of the sung text, and any deviations may cause distortion of the meaning of the song. The meaning of the song texts is very important in marriage *mfunkutu* music because they carry marriage instructions. During my fieldwork in Kasama I experienced a situation where a participant tried to lead in singing the song *Kasambe umulume we chinangwa* (Go and wash your husband, you useless thing) and substituted the word *mwana* (child) for *chinangwa* (useless thing). One of *bana chimbusa* quickly corrected her and insisted that the song be sung and performed properly to avoid imparting distorted meanings. With regards to improvisation among the people of Central Africa, Kubik (1964:50) points out that ‘Like African music in general, it sounds highly improvised to a stranger’s ear. But that is an illusion’.

6.2.1b Semantic levels of *Mfunkutu* songs

The meaning of *mfunkutu* songs can be interpreted on three levels: first there is the literal meaning of the text; secondly there is a metaphorical and/or symbolic level within the context of marriage ceremonies; and thirdly there is a metaphoric level which exists in the transfer of ideas from one context to another, for example, from the marriage ceremony to general education. Each of these contexts is described with appropriate examples.

The literal meaning of the song text often serves the purpose of conveying instructions to the people involved in a wedding ceremony. Although there is freedom of choice in the use of songs for marriage instructions, there are also restrictions as to which ceremony, ritual or time

that certain songs could be performed. Here the texts of the songs serve as clear indicators of order and manner in which rituals are to be performed. The text of, for example, *Twingile shani ee* performed during *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies, contains very specific instructions as displayed in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2 Song text of *Twingile shani ee?* (*Ichilangamulilo* song)

Leader: <i>Twingile shani ee?</i>	How should we enter?
Chorus: <i>Twingile musense ngabakolwe.</i>	Let us enter walking backwards like monkeys.

From the text of the song, it becomes clear that performers are expected to enter the building walking in backwards. This song can only be performed at the time of arrival when the *nabwinda*'s representatives are seeking permission from the *shabwinda*'s family to enter the house where *ichilangamulilo* will take place. According to the researcher's observation of 25 *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies in Lusaka and Kitwe⁹ and three *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies attended in Lusaka, this song was rendered inappropriate because the ceremonies were held outside the house in the gardens. Instead of singing the song as they were entering through the gate, they sang the song when they were already inside the yard and just a few metres from where the *shibwinda* was sitting. In such a situation there was no need to sing the song as they were already inside the yard. By merely entering the premises, in this case the garden in a normal fashion, that is not backwards, the *nabwinda*'s representatives are essentially breaking the rule of paying respect to the *shabwinda*'s family. The significance of this song being sung at the entrance of the house is that it enacts the ritual of *ukushikula*, which involves little gifts of money thrown on the floor by the hosts before the visitors could enter the house. By merely entering the house, the ritual of *ukushikula* was also omitted.

After entering the house, *nabwinda*'s representatives, who carry dishes on their heads, sing the song *Mayo ntula intundu*, requesting their hostesses to assist them in putting down the dishes that they have brought.

Table 6.3 Song text of *Mayo ntula intundu* (*Ichilangamulilo* song)

Leader: <i>Mayo ntule ntundu</i>	Mother help me put down this load
Chorus: <i>Chili muntundu chalema</i>	What is in the load is heavy
Leader: <i>Chili muntundu chalema</i>	What is in the load is heavy
Chorus: <i>Chili muntundu chalema</i>	What is in the load is heavy

⁹ Of the 25 *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies observed, 10 took place in Kitwe and 15 in Lusaka. There were not distinct differences in the performance of ceremonies between the two cities.

The dishes, referred to as *intundu*, are customarily carried as shown in Plate 6.1.

Plate 6.1 *Bana chimbusa* and selected women carry the food to be presented to *shibwinga* at *ichilangamulilo* (© Lumbwe K 2007)



The song *Bamayo akobaombele* has a mime that is performed as the different dishes of food are being uncovered before being shown and presented to the *shibwinga* (see Plate 6.3). This song is followed by *Mulangile amone* (Table 6.5) and is sung as each different dish is being shown to *shibwinga* (Plate 6.3).

Table 6.4 Song text of *Bamayo akobaombele* (*Ichilangamulilo* song)

Leader:	<i>Bamayo akobaombele</i>	Mother! The one who has been taught
Chorus:	<i>Kakukupukwila</i>	She has uncovered for you
	<i>bamayo akobaombele</i>	Mother! The one who has been taught
	<i>kakukupukwila.</i>	She has uncovered for you

Plate 6.2 *Bana Chimbusa* – customary uncovering the dishes during *ichilangamulilo* (© Lumbwe K 2007)



Table 6.5 Song text of *Mulangile amone* (*Ichilangamulilo* song)

Leader:	<i>Mulangile</i>	Show him
Chorus:	<i>Mulangile amone</i>	Show him so that he can see
Leader:	<i>Misango yambusa</i>	The ways of <i>mbusa</i>
Chorus:	<i>Mulangile amone</i>	Show him so that he can see

Plate 6.3 *Bana Chimbusa* – customary showing all the dishes to *shibwinga* (© Lumbwe K 2007)



After the presentation of the different dishes, the *shibwinga*'s hands and feet are washed by a selected *nachimbusa*. While the feet are being washed, the song *Kasambe umulume we chinangwa* is sung.

Table 6.6 Song text of *Kasambe umulume we chinangwa* (*Ichilangamulilo* song)

Leader:	<i>Kasambe umulume we chinangwa</i>	Go and bath your husband you useless thing
Chorus:	Chibale Chibale	Chibale, Chibale
Leader:	<i>Napanshi ulala we chinangwa</i>	You should lie down on the floor you useless thing
Chorus:	Chibale Chibale	Chibale, Chibale

Plate 6.4 *Nachimbusa* – customary washing of *shibwinga*'s hands and feet (© Lumbwe K 2007)



The texts of the five examples provided dictate the actions or mimes that accompany them, but do not necessarily indicate the latent or symbolic meaning of the song. Texts for Bemba marriage songs carry two meanings, one for everyone, while the other is exclusively for married people who have gone through marriage instructions and for initiated girls (Corbeil 1982:11). Corbeil discovered this while working as a priest among the Bemba at Mulilansolo Mission in the Northern Province of Zambia. During one of his church services the theme of his sermon was 'The sower who went to sow'. After asking members of the congregation about the interpretation, he discovered that adults and children had different interpretations of the concept 'You will cultivate'. The children understood from this statement that their father's duty is to cultivate with his hoe in order to feed his family, whereas the adults understood this as referring to marital duties. Corbeil indicated that according to the song text, the sower and thus congregation member must cultivate their gardens. The children understood that their fathers have no time to work in other people's gardens, whereas adults interpreted the text as meaning that adultery is forbidden. When the song text refers to 'cultivate well', the children understood that if fathers throw the seeds without covering them, the birds would eat them, whereas for adults it meant that onanism is also forbidden. From Corbeil's illustration of interpretations of song texts by children and adults, it is evident that the songs are set at two levels, namely the literal and the philosophical, which could also be

the symbolic. Bemba adults are aware of these difference and often converse in front of their children about certain issues in ways that will not shock them as children and the uninitiated interpret the conversation at a surface level without being aware of the deeper meaning (Lumbwe 2004, 2006:9).

According to Mapoma (1980:339), in reference to song texts from the *mfunkutu* genre, ‘the texts are always proverbial and need careful interpretation in the light of the context that has prompted the performance in order to arrive at a correct understanding of their meaning’. As indicated in Chapter Three, the Bemba incorporate proverbs and metaphors in their daily conversation, and this has been acknowledged by several scholars who have conducted research among the Bemba people (see Etienne (1937), Labrecque (1947), Richards (1956), Epstein (1958), Mitchell (1956) and Kashoki (1972).

Because adults and children often interpret texts at different levels, some marriage *mfunkutu* songs have been sung and performed out of the prescribed social context. While teaching music at the mine schools (Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Education Department, ZCCM), the researcher experienced class teachers using marriage songs such as *Kapapa kalubalala* for their class assembly performances. During these performances the song was sung and danced to drum accompaniment provided by selected female teachers.

Table 6.7 Song text of *Kapapa kalubalala*

Leader:	<i>Kapapa kalubalala</i>	The shell of a groundnut
Chorus:	<i>Mwikamono kutuntumana mukati emuli amano.</i>	Do not see its thickness inside there is sense.
Leader:	<i>Mukati</i>	Inside
Chorus:	<i>Emuli amano.</i>	There is sense.

While children may think about a groundnut and interpret the text literally, adults interpret the song in a proverbial sense, indicating that one should not judge a book by its cover.

Another song that was popular during the colonial period and is still remains very popular in post-independence mine schools is the song *Manguniya yo* performed as a game song. The song according to Mapoma (1980:45) ‘is sometimes called a *chisungu* (initiation) song, though it is mostly sung by children as an action song’.¹⁰ Mapoma continues:

¹⁰ Chisungu formed part of *ubwinga* ceremonies during pre-colonial times, as explained in Chapter Three.

In the context of initiation as sung by *nachimbusa* and her helper, the metaphor (birds) is understood, and the song has a single meaning for both mother and daughter: moral guidance and principles are needed in dealing with sexual maturity. (Mapoma 1980:45)

It should be noted, firstly, that songs such as this one have been performed by children and the uninitiated without their getting the deeper meaning that is embedded in its text. Secondly, as stated earlier, here also the tune and text show small variations. In the song text of *Manguniya yo*, transcribed by Mapoma, the song ends with the word ‘*Owe*’ which was sung, whereas the version recorded and transcribed by the researcher ended with a spoken ‘*buka*’. (See Tables 6.8 and 6.9 as well as Figures 6.2 and 6.3.)

Table 6.8 Song text of *Manguniya yo* (Mapoma 1980:45)

Chorus:	<i>Manguniya yo</i>	Here come the birds
	<i>Manguniya yo</i>	Here come the birds
	<i>Ifwe kuno tulale</i>	We here should sleep
	<i>Imwe uko mubuke</i>	You should now wake up
	<i>Pali manguniya yo</i>	Because here come the birds
	<i>Owe</i>	<i>Owe</i>

Table 6.9 Song text of *Manguniya ee* (Lumbwe 2007)

Chorus one:	<i>Manguniya ee, manguniya ee</i>	Here come the birds, here come the birds
	<i>Naifwe kuno tulale naimwoko mubuke</i>	We here should sleep and you there should wake up
	<i>pali manguniya ee, buka.</i>	Because here come the birds, wake up
Chorus two:	<i>Manguniya ee, manguniya ee</i>	Here come the birds, here come the birds
	<i>Naifwe kuno tulale naimwoko mubuke</i>	We here should sleep and you there should wake up
	<i>pali manguniya ee, buka.</i>	Because here come the birds, wake up

Figure 6.2 *Manguniya yo* (Mapoma 1980:223)

Manguniya yo

Ma - ngu - niya yo Ma - ngu - niya yo I - fwe Ku - no tu - la - le

I - mwe u - ko mu - bu - ke pa - li ma - ngu - niya yo o - we - e yo

Figure 6.3 Notation of the song *Manguniya ee* (Version recorded in Kitwe in 2007)

Manguniya ee

× = spoken

What was interesting about performing a marriage song in an educational context was that:

- The main purpose was to incorporate Zambian indigenous dances into the predominately Western-oriented curriculum;
- Children performed such songs without being aware of their meanings, and that these songs belonged to the category of marriage songs;
- The drum accompaniment was mainly played with *chibitiko* drum rhythm and *itumba* playing the reference pulse to keep a steady tempo.

The songs given above as examples serve to demonstrate that marriage music together with its particular dances and acts differs from other genres in terms of the semantic levels on which they operate (Lumbwe 2004:133). As Kambole (2002) points out, some marriage music could be performed purely for recreation and out of context, whereas for those who have gone through marriage training, the meaning and interpretation of the same music would have deeper symbolic meaning. Because of the different levels of interpretation Mapoma (1980:340) indicated in his classification of *mfunkutu* songs he could not distinguish a distinct class according to the context in which the songs are performed, as certain songs have been used in more than one context.

6.2.1c Continuity and change of *mfunkutu*

It is evident that the texts of the marriage songs have survived the test of time, despite the changes and adjustments that have been made to the ceremonies and rituals in which they are utilised. After comparing Mapoma's transcription (1980:223) with two of my own transcriptions of this song *Kasamabe umulume wechinangwa*, variations in the texts of the solo parts emerged, as shown in the table:

Table 6.10 *Kasamabe umulume wechinangwa*: comparisons of text transcriptions

Mapoma's transcription (1980)	Transcription 1 (2003)	Transcription 2 (2007)
First line: <i>Kasambe umulume wechinangwa we</i>	First line: <i>Kasambe umulume we chinangwa</i>	First line: <i>Kasambe umulume wechinangwa ee</i>
Second line: <i>Apa ulala</i>	Second line: <i>Napanshi ulala we chinangwa</i>	Second line: <i>Napanshi ulala we chinangwa ee</i>
Third line: <i>Napa ulala</i>	Third line: <i>Napanshi ulala we chinangwa</i>	Third line: <i>Napanshi ulala we chinangwa ee</i>

The text of the response phrase *Chibale Chibale* remained the same for all the transcriptions. What is interesting about these findings is that Mapoma's version represents recordings collected earlier than 1980, while Transcription 1 was recorded in 2003, and Transcription 2 in 2007. Although there is a difference in the time of recording and text variations, it remains difficult to determine which one of the three represents the initial version. It makes sense to speculate that Mapoma's version could be closer to the original version as his recording was made in a rural setting 27 year prior to the researcher's recording. The variations in the texts of the song *Kasmabe umulume we chinangwa* are not the only differences that have been observed. The melody of the song has some differences, but this will be elaborated on later in this chapter. Even though small differences were detected, the overall structure and meaning of *Kasmabe umulume we chinangwa* remained intact.

Furthermore, when comparing two different transcriptions of the text and music of *Manguniya ee* (see Tables 6.8 and 6.9 as well as Figures 6.2 and 6.3), it becomes evident that minor changes occurred and that the song has remained virtually unchanged. Another example can be found in the song text of *Kapapa kalubalala* (see Table 6.7), where the common fieldwork version carries the first line by the leader as: *Kapapa kalubalala* (The shell of a groundnut). However, on three occasions, once in Kitwe and twice in Kasama, the first line was sung as *Kabalala kabalala* (Groundnut, groundnut), while the rest of the song remained the same. These examples provide strong evidence for the fact that the marriage *mfunkutu* still has a place in contemporary Zambia.

In the post-independence era, especially in Lusaka and other urban centres, song leaders tend to include the interpolation of additional words, usually names of people or objects (Lumbwe 2004:140). For instance, in the song *Uyu mwana munangani* the leader chose to include

names of people instead of just saying ‘*uyu mwana*’ (this child). The substitution of the actual name Kasongo/Kasonde or Mulenga for the words ‘*uyu mwana*’ does not distort the meaning of the song text. However, what has happened is an alteration to the rhythmic structure within that segment of the song, as shown in Figure 6.4:

Table 6.11 Song text of *Uyu mwana munangani*

Leader:	<i>Uyu mwana munangani,</i>	This child is lazy,
	<i>nakatangala ee.</i>	she just lies down.
Chorus:	<i>Ninakatangala ee,</i>	She just lies,
	<i>ninakatangala pabutanda.</i>	she just lies down on the mat.
Leader:	<i>Ninakatangala pabutanda</i>	She just lies down on the mat
Chorus:	<i>Ninakatangala ee,</i>	She just lies down,
	<i>ninakatangala pabutanda.</i>	she just lies down on the mat.
Leader:	<i>Kasongo munangani,</i>	Kasongo is lazy,
	<i>ninakatangala ee.</i>	she just lies down.

Figure 6.4 Notation of the song *Uyumwana munangani*

U-yu mwa-na mu - na - nga-ni na-ka-ta - nga-la-ee - e Ni na-ka-ta - nga-le-ee - e

ni na-ka-ta - nga-la mwe ba - na Na-ka-ta nga-la-mwe-ba-na Ni na-ka-ta - nga-le-ee - e

ni na - ka - ta - nga - la mwe ba - na Ka - so - ngo mu - na - nga - ni na - ka - ta -

nga - la ee - e Ni na - ka - ta - nga - le - ee - e ni na - ka - ta - nga - la mwe ba - na

From the transcription above it is evident that the rhythm in the words *uyu mwana* at the beginning of the first solo phrase is different from that of the name Kasongo at the beginning of the third solo phrase.

Another example can be found in the song *Mwimbona mamba munuma*, where the common interpolation of additional words is effected in the answering phrase. The word *imbeka* (referring to the beauty of a person) is often substituted with names of the people getting

married (either the name of the *shibwinga* or the *nabwinga*); names such as Mulenga, Mutale, Bwalya or Western names such as Peter, Mary and Grace could be used. See Table 12 for an illustration. In the two transcriptions presented in Figures 6.5 and 6.6 the rhythms in the last bars differ slightly because of the interpolation of the word *imbeka* and the name *Chibeka*. The difference in rhythm in the two words is due to the difference in pronunciation.

Table 6.12 Song text of *Mwimbona mamba munuma*

Leader:	<i>Mwimbona mamba munuma</i>	Do not see the scales on my back
Chorus:	<i>Nine nafyale mbeka</i>	I am the one who bore this beautiful child
Leader:	<i>Mwimbona mamba munuma</i>	Do not see the scales on my back
Chorus:	<i>Nine nafyala Chibeka</i>	I am the one who bore Chibeka

Figure 6.5 Notation of the song *Mwimbona maba munuma* showing the indigenous version

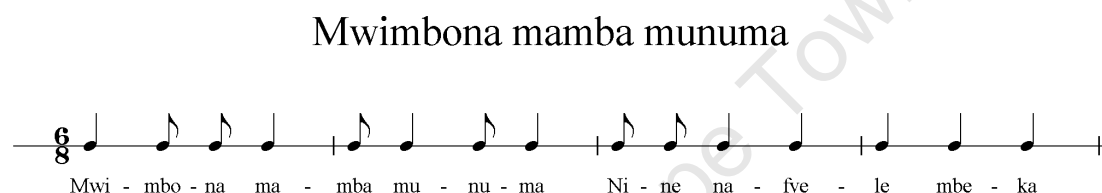
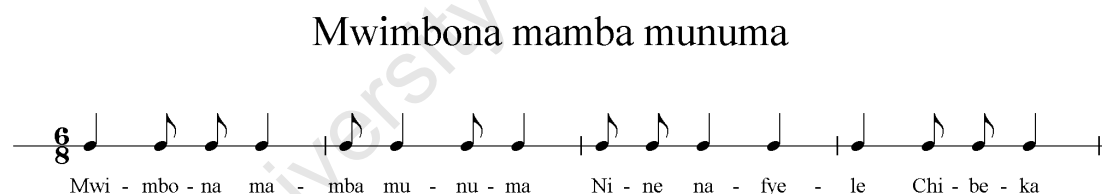


Figure 6.6 Notation of the song *Mwimbona maba munuma* showing the version with the substitution of the name Chibeka for the word *imbeka*



In the development of contemporary Zambian music which involves the utilisation of Western musical instruments (guitars, keyboards and drum kits) indigenous songs have been played on these instruments in the style of *Kalindula* and Congolese rhumba. Bemba marriage songs and those from other genres, and also from other ethnic groups, have been adapted to the contemporary styles. From the Bemba marriage songs a typical example is the song *Itumba lilelila kubuko*, which was recorded and produced by the late *Kalindula* maestro Alfred Chisala Kalusha Jr (Lumbwe 2004:34). Kalusha adopted the main melody and text of the song, but added his own verse to conclude the song as shown in section D of the transcription in Figure 6.8. Figures 6.7 and 6.8 illustrate the indigenous version of the song *Itumba Lilelila* and Kalusha's version of the same song:

Figure 6.7 Transcription of the indigenous version of the song *Itumba lilelila*

Itumba lilelila

Solo
 1 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la 2 ku - bu - ko 3 ba - le - nje - ba 4 fi - mbi

Chorus
 5 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la 6 ku - bu - ko 7 na - ko 8 ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

Solo
 9 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la 10 ku - bu - ko 11 na - ko 12 ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

Chorus
 13 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la 14 ku - bu - ko 15 na - ko 16 ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

Solo
 17 Wa - tu - ku - la 18 ka - fu - mo 19 mu - ku - lya - 20 mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 21 Wa - tu - ku - la 22 ka - fu - mo 23 mu - ku - lya - 24 mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Solo
 25 Wa - tu - ku - la 26 ka - fu - mo 27 mu - ku - se - 28 nse - la mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 29 Wa - tu - ku - la 30 ka - fu - mo 31 mu - ku - se - 32 nse - la mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Figure 6.8 Transcription of Kalusha's version of the song *Itumba lilelila*

Itumba lilelila

A **Solo**
 1 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la 2 ku - bu - ko 3 ba - le - nje - ba 4 fi - mbi

Chorus
 5 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la 6 ku - bu - ko 7 na - ko 8 ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

Solo
 9 Wa - tu - ku - la 10 ka - fu - mo 11 mu - ku - ko - 12 nko - la mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 13 Wa - tu - ku - la 14 ka - fu - mo 15 mu - ku - ko - 16 nko - la mwa - no - ko - fya - la

B Solo
 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la ku - bu - ko - ba - le - nje - ba fi - mbi

Chorus
 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la ku - bu - ko - na - ko ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

Solo
 Wa - tu - ku - la ka - fu - mo mu - ku - ko - nko - la mwa no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 Wa - tu - ku - la ka - fu - mo mu - ku - ko - nko - la mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Solo
 We - wa - ku - la ka - nwa mu - ku - lya - ee mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 We - wa - ku - la ka - nwa mu - ku - lya - ee mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Solo
 Ku - ti - li - le - li - le tu - mba ba - le - nje - ba

Chorus
 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la ku - bu - ko - na - ko ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

Solo
 Wa - tu - ku - la ka - fu - mo mu - ku - ko - nko - la mwa no - ko - fya - la

2

Chorus
 Wa - tu - ku - la ka - fu - mo mu - ku - ko - nko - la mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Spoken Words:
 Ala nimfunkutu bane
 Ni mfunkutu
 Pwisheni tuleya
 Nalelo ninjisa

C Solo
 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la ku - bu - ko — ba - le - nje - ba fi - mbi

Chorus
 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la ku - bu - ko — na - ko ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

Solo
 Wa - tu - ku - la ka - fu - mo mu - ku - ko - nko - la mwa no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 Wa - tu - ku - la ka - fu - mo mu - ku - ko - nko - la mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Solo
 We - wa - ku - la ka - nwa mu - ku - lya - ee mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 We - wa - ku - la ka - nwa mu - ku - lya - ee mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Solo
 We - wa - ku - la ka - fu - mo mu - ku - ko - nko - la mwa no - ko - fya - la

Chorus
 We - wa - ku - la ka - nwa mu - ku - lya - ee mwa - no - ko - fya - la

Solo
 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la ku - bu - ko — ba - le - nje - ba fi - mbi

Chorus
 Tu - mba - li - le - li - la ku - bu - ko — na - ko ba - le nje - ba fi - mbi

D Solo Chorus
 a - tu - mba ka - tu - li - ka No - mba le - lo - tu ba - mbe - po ka mbi

Solo Chorus
 Ka - tu - mba Chi - bwe No - mba le - lo - tu ba - mbe - po ka - mbi

3

Other examples of indigenous songs adopted into contemporary styles include the following:

Table 6.13 Examples of indigenous songs adopted into contemporary styles (Chisanga 2008)

Song title	Name of ethnic group	Name of performer(s)
<i>Mao (2X2)</i>	Tonga <i>Chingande</i> dance song	Chris Chali's <i>Amayenge</i> Cultural Ensemble
<i>Mazela mazela</i>	Nsenga work song	Chris Chali's <i>Amayenge</i> Cultural Ensemble
<i>Munise munise</i>	Lozi <i>Siyomboka</i> dance song	Chris Chali's <i>Amayenge</i> Cultural Ensemble
<i>Tai yaka</i>	Lozi <i>Siyomboka</i> dance song	Julizya band
<i>Elyoni elyoni</i>	Bemba children's song	JK (Jordan Katembula)

6.2.2 Melody in relation to language and music

The tones of the Bemba language¹¹ in which the text of the marriage *mfunkutu* song is set contribute to its melodic structure. The melodies in marriage *mfunkutu* music usually employ a descending stepwise motion starting from a high to a lower pitch level (Mapoma 1980:336; Lumbwe 2004:140; Ng'andu & Herbst 2004:50). These melodies of songs have an antiphonal form (commonly referred to as 'call and response'). Furthermore, the melodies comprise at least a pair of complementary phrases of solo and chorus. In other words, it could be said that the songs are usually performed at three levels which include:

- Singing in call and response (antiphony), with the leader calling while the rest of the group responds in chorus;
- Drum accompaniment; and
- Hand-clapping accompaniment (Lumbwe 2004:191; Lumbwe 2006:6).

Unlike in the case of Western music, where harmony is determined by combinations of notes built on the tonic followed by a third, fifth and or seventh note of a given scale, Bemba music, like other musics of sub-Saharan Africa, is harmonised by singing a similar melody at a different tone higher or lower. In some cases the intervals between the main melody and that of the harmonising may vary from a third, fourth, fifth or octave. Central African people who harmonise in this way have been described by Jones (1959:218) as the '8-5-4 tradition' people and the 'thirds people'. In the case of the Bemba-speaking people of the Northern and Luapula Provinces, who have been the main focus of this study, they fall among the 'thirds people' according to Jones's description as they predominantly harmonise in intervals of

¹¹ The majority of marriage *mfunkutu* songs are sung in Bemba. There are but a few examples that come from Mambwe and Lungu which are also tonal languages. The issue of language tonality is discussed in greater detail in Section 6.2.1a.

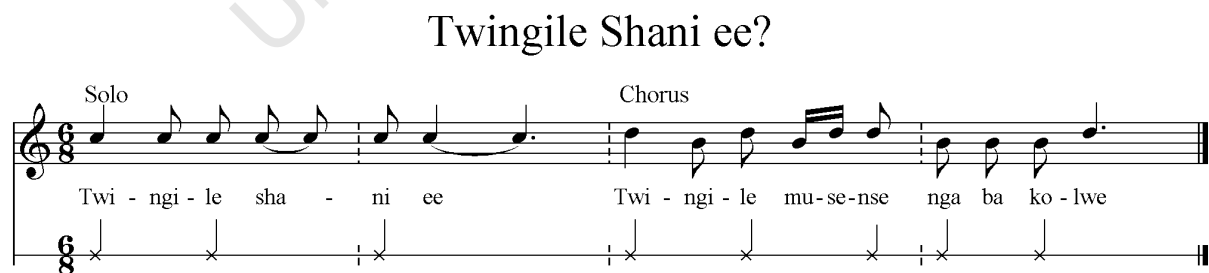
thirds. In the case of Bemba marriage music, harmonisation usually occurs in conjunction with the chorus phrase and not the solo vocal phrase (Lumbwe 2004:141).

From the analysis it is evident that multipart singing is based on the principle of ‘analogous movement’¹² within a tempered scale approaching equidistance (Kubik 1997:89–90) and that the songs are set in hexatonic and heptatonic scales (Lumbwe 2004:142). Considering that the main focus of this study is concerned with the investigation of the changes that have occurred to marriage *mfunkutu* because of internal and external factors, it is imperative to point out that some songs have ‘lost’ their melodies, meaning that people cannot remember the original melodies. These songs have therefore undergone a change and the call phrase of a song such as *Twingile shani ee?* follow the natural rise and fall of the tone of the language. In some cases the response phrase can be varied with one half sung with melodic contours, while the other half is a rhythmic recitation following the natural rise and fall of the tone of the language. The following examples illustrate this point:

Figure 6.9 Transcription of the song *Twingile shani ee?* with both phrases sung in virtual monotone



Figure 6.10 Transcription of the song *Twingile shani ee?* with the response phrase sung with melodic contours



From the interviews with research participants such as Mwesa (2007) it is not clear which one of the two transcriptions presented above precedes the other in terms of originality. Based on

¹² Analogous movement means that two or more voices are sung simultaneously but at a different height by individual singers in an analogous manner. This does not imply that the movement of the individual voices must be parallel; it can be, but it can also involve oblique and contrary motion.

Mwesa's experience, there are two possible explanations for this. Firstly, the variations could be attributed to the place of origin of the performers. Among the different Bemba-speaking groups such as those from Luapula Province, Northern Province and Central Province, there are certain practices that may pertain to one or two of the groups and not to all of them. Secondly, variations could be attributed to the fact that the performers of the song do not know the tune of the whole song very well, and then that version of the song is adapted by many people within the same locale.

In the song *Nasekela seke* Mapoma's (1980) transcription presents the song with melodic contours, while my version presents the song on a virtual 'monotone'. Figures 6.11 And 6.12 illustrate the difference in melodic setting of the song '*Nasekela seke*':

Figure 6.11 Transcription of the song *Nasekela seke* (Mapoma 1980: 218)

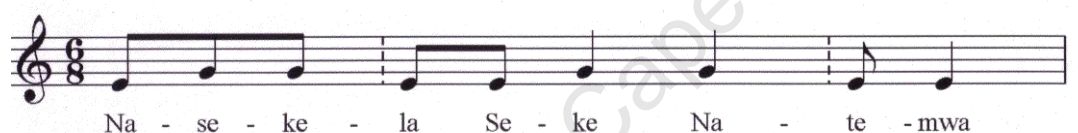
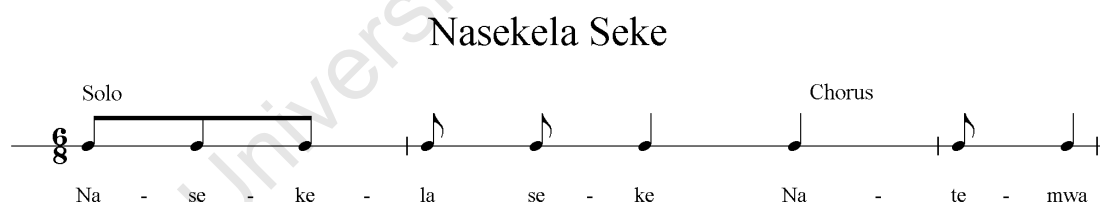


Figure 6.12 Transcription of the song *Nasekela seke*

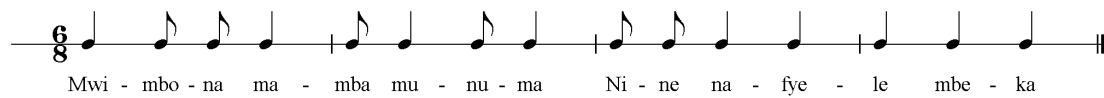


Another example can be seen in the song *Mwimbona mamba munuma*. Mapoma's transcription presents the song with melodic contours, while my version presents the song sung in virtual monotone as shown in Figures 6.13 and 6.14:

Figure 6.13 Transcription of the song *Mwimbona mamba munuma* (Mapoma, 1980: 341)



Figure 6.14 Transcription of the song *Mwimbona maba munuma*



6.2.3 Rhythm in relation to language and music

Rhythmic aspects within sub-Saharan African music can be viewed at two levels, one being that of the vocal and the other being that of the instrumental. Rhythm related to the instrumental part of music could be subdivided in two types, namely syllabic and abstract rhythms. Nketia (1974:125) describes the first type as ‘syllabic rhythms that relate to pitched instruments (xylophones or harps), corresponding with the syllabic divisions in the words of the songs that they accompany’. The second type is the ‘abstract rhythm patterns’ that relate to ‘unpitched percussive instruments especially drums’ (Nketia 1974:125). In terms of the ‘technical musical process’ when the rhythm attributes outlined above are put together in creating or performing sub-Saharan African music, the resultant rhythm is a complex structure referred to as multipart music performance, a phenomenon mentioned in the studies of central African peoples and musical cultures by scholars such as Jones (1959), Arom (1991) and Kubik (1997).

Following Nketia, syllabic rhythms can be found in the song texts which to a large extent determine the rhythmic structure of the songs (Mapoma 1980; Ng’andu & Herbst 2004). In this context it is necessary to bear in mind the structural characteristics of marriage *mfunkutu* songs:

- The solo and chorus phrases share the same text, e.g. literally or with minimal differences;
- Sometimes the text of the solo phrase is in the form of a question to which the chorus part provides the answer;
- The text of the solo phrase is the beginning of an axiom or proverb phrase (*insoselo* and or *amapinda* – sayings and proverbs) to which the chorus phrase provides the logical completion;
- The text of the solo phrase provides instructions to do something, while the chorus phrase names the person to perform the task (Lumbwe 2004:148).

In songs where the solo and chorus are exactly the same, the rhythm remains unchanged because the text remains the same. Only in cases of the insertion of interpolations as discussed earlier could the rhythm change to reflect the rhythmic structure of the interpolated word.

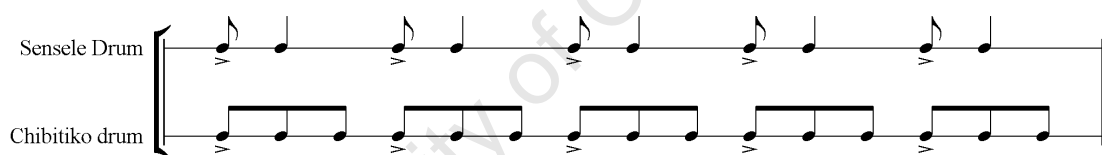
The underlying rhythmic foundation of accompanied Bemba songs, in Nketia's sense the 'abstract rhythm', is provided by drumming and or hand clapping. There are usually three drummers in marriage *mfunkutu*, with their specific roles outlined as follows:

[T]he meter is established by one of them, while the other two combine in cross-rhythms, and may even play the same pattern with entries staggered/crossed (i.e. not beginning at the same time). Therefore, only one drum is responsible for the basic meter, and another drummer may perform the regular elementary pulsations, while the third drummer will produce the grouping iambically. (Lumbwe 2004:145–146).

Furthermore, the occurrence of the reference beat (the basic metrical pattern) with a pulse grouping is noticeable. The rhythmic organisation of indigenous Bemba music includes the interactions of at least two patterns, which are organised in twos or threes (Mapoma 1980; Ng'andu & Herbst 2004:50).

According to observations made during fieldwork, the combination of *sensele* and *chibitiko* drumming is prominent in the drum accompaniment of marriage *mfunkutu* music (see Fig. 6.15).

Figure 6.15 Transcription of marriage *mfunkutu* music drum accompaniment rhythms



With respect to playing the drums that accompany singing in Bemba indigenous music and also in other sub-Saharan African music traditions, Nketia (1963:10) writes that 'the African learns to play rhythms in patterns'. This is a process by which a rhythmic figure is viewed as a total unit or cell, and is equivalent to the 'whole-word method' of reading in language learning (Arom 1991:207). In relation to marriage *mfunkutu* music the combination of the *sensele* and *chibitiko* drumming patterns becomes such a rhythmic unit or cell.

When dealing with characteristics of rhythmic structures of the music systems of Central Africa, 'syncopation'¹³ is a highly debated issue. On the one hand, Arom (1991:207) tries to demonstrate the absence of syncopation when he writes that Central African music systems cannot employ the use of syncopation when their music makes no use of the contrast between

¹³ Rousseau (1768:459) defines syncopation as 'the extension of a sound begun on the weak beat onto the strong beat'. Amy (1961:III, 762) defines syncopation as 'a rhythmic feature consisting of the presence of an accented element on a weak beat and its extension on to a strong beat'.

strong and weak beats. However, on the other hand, Mapoma (1980) and Ng'andu (2009) have indicated the presence of syncopation and double thirds in the music of the Bemba-*nkonko*,¹⁴ though they do not elaborate on its occurrence. From these two opposing views one may be inclined to take Rousseau's (1768:459) explanation when he notes the occurrence of an 'off beat' instead of syncopation. Rousseau writes that 'an offbeat note can be defined as starting on the second half (or any other part except the attack) of the beat'. In other words, any note which is attacked so as not to coincide with the attack of the beat is an 'off beat' (Arom 1991:207).

In a nutshell, durational structure in most African indigenous music is based upon repetition of musical material that is identical (this material could either have or not have variations) with the pulsations on which duration is based being treated of equal status. Furthermore, varying transcription systems that researchers employed and still continue to do so have produced different results and descriptions of the same musical characteristics of the type of music under consideration.

6.3 Drums and drumming in indigenous Bemba marriage music

Having outlined how structural and stylistic traits of Bemba marriage musical performances have evolved because of various factors, it is important to look at what has happened to the musical instruments used for accompanying the songs and dances (*mfunkutu*) performed at different marriage ceremonies.

Mfunkutu is accompanied by drumming and hand clapping. In some cases the songs are simply accompanied by handclapping without drumming at all. It is important to note that for the Bemba hand clapping is not considered as a special kind of accompaniment, but is regarded as intrinsic to the singing of the song. Drumming, on the other hand, is considered as an integral part of the transmission of knowledge. For example, when referring to a person who has gone through initiation, the phrase *Yalilila ingoma* literally means 'The drum sounded'. This highlights the fact that a person was taught while the drum sounded, adding a certain kind of authority to the ceremony. Throughout marriage ceremonies the drum plays an important authoritative role. The phrase *Tayalilile ingoma* means 'the drum did not sound', indicating that a person did not undergo initiation. The abbreviation *Tayalilile* is also used.

¹⁴ The Bemba can be divided into two groups: the Bemba-*nkonko* and the Bemba-speaking people. The Bemba-*nkonko* are the 'original' Bembas, while the Bisa, Lala, Lamba, Ushi, Ngumbo, Chishinga and Ambo form the Bemba-speaking group.

As indicated before, the main musical instruments that accompany the *mfunkutu* music include three drums, namely *sensele*, *ichibitiko* and the master drum *itumba* (Jones & Kombe 1952:5–39; Mapoma 1980:38; Lumbwe 2004:152–155). The drums are collectively known in Bemba as *ingoma* (both singular and plural), and some drums bear special names such as *inshingili*, *kamangu* and *itumba* (the larger drum commonly used in marriage music). These drums amongst others derive their names from the standard rhythm motifs produced on them (such as *sensele* in Fig. 6.15) (Lumbwe 2004:148).

The drums are made in different shapes and sizes, and the parts from locally available materials. The sound-producing membrane is made from animal hides (such as *Impombo* – Impala, *Akatili* – Duiker and *Insamba* – Iguana). Other animal hides such as ox-hide are not favoured because they are thick in texture and thus too heavy to produce the desired sound for *mfunkutu*. In other parts of Zambia drum-heads (membranes) are usually made from various animal hides, some of which include cow or ox-hide, snake or crocodile skins and goat hide (Lumbwe 2004:153). For the main body of the drum, which acts as a resonator, *Ichisungwa* or *Isase* tree trunks are used as their wood is fairly light and it does not crack in seasoning. In order to connect the membrane(s) to the body of the drum either *ulushishi* – bark string or wooden pegs are used (Jones & Kombe, 1952:40–49).¹⁵ With regard to the way membranes are fixed to the resonating body of the drum, Nketia (1974:86) points out that:

The manner in which the drum-head is fixed varies. It may be glued down to the shell, nailed down by thorns or nails, or suspended by pegs that can be in or out to regulate its tension. The head may also be laced down by thongs to a tension ring at the bottom, or to another skin at the other end; the lacing may be Y-shaped, W-shaped, or X-shaped.

With the advent of urbanisation and industrialisation, various materials are used for making the resonating bodies of drums. Common among these materials are hollowed out tree trunks, strips of wood bound together by iron hoops, potsherds (for making round frame drums), large gourds, and industrial metal drums (Lumbwe 2004:153). Some drums are single headed (with a sonorous membrane on one end and open at the other end), while others are double headed (with sonorous membranes at both ends). For the single-headed drums wooden pegs are used to fix the membrane to the body of the drum, while strips of the same hide as the

¹⁵ I have used the Bemba names for *Ichisungwa* and *Isase* trees because I have not been able to find the botanical or scientific terms.

membrane are used to lace the two membranes on a double-headed drum.¹⁶ With regards to the shapes of the drums, Nketia (1974:125) observes that they vary from place to place and that the common ones appear to be the cylindrical, semi-cylindrical (with a bulge in the middle or bowl-shaped top), conical and hour-glass shaped.

Plate 6.5 Single-headed drum (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 6.6 Double-headed drum (© Lumbwe 2003)



Plate 6.7 Double-headed drums (© Lumbwe 2003)



¹⁶ The lacing is not just used for connecting the two membranes; it is pulled to a desired tension that in turn enables the drum to yield the desired sound. Furthermore, during the time that Jones and Kombe (1952) conducted their research among the people of the then Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), the lacing material for drums was *ulushishi*, but throughout my field research I did not come across a drum with lacing from *ulushishi*. The common material for lacing currently is the same animal hide that is used for the membrane of the drum.

The common shapes of the drums used in *mfunkutu* are conical and cylindrical. With regards to the size of the *mfunkutu* drums, Mwela (2003) and Chitwansombo (2006) point out that in the years that they were drummers, as members of the Zambia National Dance Troupe and *Ingomba* (Royal Musician) respectively, there was not a set standard as to the exact measurements of the Bemba drums. However, as a drum maker, Chitwansombo points out that what is of significance is the sound quality yielded from the drum. Hence *itumba* is usually larger than *sensele* and *ichibitiko* as it has a deeper sound than the two drums. Therefore, the maker of the drums determines the size – height and width – of the drums. Considering that in places like Lusaka and the Copperbelt (all which are urban centres) it is difficult for drum makers to get the right kind of tree trunks, such as *ichisungwa* and *isase* already mentioned in this chapter, it has become increasingly common to use twenty-litre metal industrial drums as resonating cylinders for drums as these are easy to obtain from market stores.¹⁷ However, the drum head and lacing materials and the method of construction are exactly the same as the drums with wooden resonators (Lumbwe 2004:155). The shift from the use of wooden resonators to metal industrial drums is a clear indicator of change in as far as musical arts in Bemba marriage traditions is concerned. Furthermore, as Mwela (2003) observes, many people in Lusaka and other urban centres are not particular about the quality of the sound produced by the drums used for accompanying *mfunkutu* in marriage ceremonies. As a result even drums used by other ethnic groups within the country are used for Bemba marriage ceremonies. During my fieldwork one *nachimbusa* had to discontinue musical performances at one of the *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies in Lusaka. On this occasion the drummers tried to use drums meant for decorations (obtained from curial stores at Kabwata cultural village), which sounded as though someone was beating on a wooden table surface. Because of the poor quality of the sound produced by these drums, the song leaders and dancers were not comfortable about performing, so much so that each time a performer's turn came, he or she stopped mid-way through the song and dance and complained using expressions such as '*Ingoma tashileyana no kwimba kabili ne chila tachile fukila iyo*' ('The drums are not in conformity with the singing, and the dancing is not exciting'). The gathering ended up sourcing better drums from a nearby community and only then did they continue with the proceedings. Chitwansombo (2006) points out that from experiences such as the one

¹⁷ Metal cylinders are not only used for *mfunkutu* drums, but also for other dance music such as *kalela* for the Bemba and *m'ganda* for the Tumbuka people of Northern and Eastern Provinces of Zambia. The main difference between *mfunkutu* drums and *kalela* and *m'ganda* drums is the size. The former is much smaller than the other two.

outline above, it is evident that people in the urban areas do not realise the serious infringement of *mfunkutu* musical practice when the timbre of the sound produced by the drums they use is not desirable.

Mfunkutu drums are tuned to different pitches (which could be described as having a high, medium and low tone). When affected by external factors such as temperature changes, moisture, movement and transportation, the drums' skins loosen, resulting in the loss of the 'correct' tone. In such a situation the players either put the drums in the sun for some time until the skins stretch in the heat and produce the desired sound, or else place them close to a fire to warm up, and then beat them from time to time until the desired sound is elicited (Lumbwe 2004:154).

Throughout my fieldwork and indeed from personal experience I noted that the types of drums used for accompanying singing and dancing in the different marriage ceremonies have been drawn from Bemba musical traditions and also from other musical traditions from within the country and neighbouring countries. The reasons for the infiltration of other traditions into those of the Bemba is, firstly, over the years people have adopted a number of musical instruments such as drums from their neighbouring ethnic groups (from within the country or from neighbouring countries, especially those at the areas bordering the two countries, such as the DRC, the Congo and Tanzania). By virtue of their physical location, though the Tabwa and Namwanga may live in different countries, they are closely related to the Bemba linguistically, culturally and historically; it is therefore highly probable that these peoples share many facets of life (Roberts 1973:147–152). Secondly, infiltration took place because of lack of proper knowledge of their musical traditions on the part of some Bemba people who were born and bred in the towns and cities. This lack of knowledge resulted in the adoption of other cultural practices. Thirdly, as stated earlier, there has been a growing tendency among the urban people to use 'companies' to organise and perform marriage ceremonies for families. The commercial element has prompted people to make do with whatever equipment and props are at their disposal, even though these do not conform with the cultural and indigenous norms or requirements. Fourthly, it has become common for young inexperienced members of families and even communities to take over the organisation of marriage ceremonies, which is done with less participation or involvement of the experienced elders. Despite all the noticeable changes listed above, it is important to note that insofar as *mfunkutu*

drums are concerned, the Bemba people in Lusaka and the Copperbelt have continued to use the proper marriage *mfunkutu* drums that produce the desired quality of sound.

6.3.1 Playing the *mfunkutu* drums

In Bemba terms, to play a musical instrument is known as *ukulisha*, a word derived from *lisha* ('to make cry'). Hence to make soothing sound or make someone cry is *ukulisha*, for instance, *ukulisha umwana* ('to make a child cry') (Mapoma, 1980:37). In the playing of drums the Bemba equivalent is '*ukulisha ingoma*' ('to make the drum cry') and the player of the drum (or drummer) is referred to as *kalisha wa ngoma* ('the one who makes the drum cry'). In order for people to play a drum and be accorded the status of *kalisha wangoma*, they must have developed a technique which elicits the production of a number of different sounds from one and the same drum skin (Jones & Kombe 1952:17). Following Jones and Kombe's statement on what makes a good drummer, it should be borne in mind that the nature of sub-Saharan African drumming is quite complex, especially referring to (a) actions used in the process; (b) the distribution of drum timbres; (c) to the striking of a different area on the drum head; and (d) the agent¹⁸ used for striking the drum head (Lumbwe 2004:155).

In the early days Western observers had stereotyped notion that African drummers merely pounded out a series of rhythmic patterns on the drums (Jones & Kombe 1952:17). However, this notion is far from being true, for various reasons. Firstly, not every Bemba can play the drum on a level that would be described as 'excellent'. Secondly, drummers are musicians with special abilities and creative minds. As Blacking points out in his extensive study of the music of the Venda people of South Africa (1995:58), creativity in Venda music is expressed in organising new relationships between sounds and new ways of producing them, that is, in musical composition and in performance. This statement by Blacking should be taken into consideration when dealing with Bemba drumming and performance practice. Similar to considering the materials used in making the drums and the effect of these materials on the quality of sound that they in turn produce, it is equally important for the player to manipulate the drum in such a way that s/he not only produces the desired rhythms, but also the desired timbre.

In the case of accompanying drums for *mfunkutu* (*sensele*, *ichibitiko* and *itumba*) different pitches – high, medium and low – are expected when accompanying singing and dancing.

¹⁸ According to Kubik (1997:91), the term 'agent' could be defined as that which generates movement or actions (performs an action or means), and these may include hands, percussion sticks and drum-beaters.

Furthermore, the desired tone should be clear and solemn, producing a rounded sound. In his study of the ‘*Ichila* dance style’ of the Lala¹⁹ people of Serenje district in Zambia, Jones and Kombe (1952:17) writes that different types of sounds could be elicited from drums and these may be high or low, sharp and clear, or dull and muted. Furthermore, in their study Jones and Kombe discovered that no fewer than 11 different sounds were used among the Lala, which they divided into three classes: (a) free beats, (b) muted beats, and (c) secondary muted beats. These forms of sound production on the drum will be elaborated on later.

Since drumming accompanies singing and dancing, it is important to consider the sonic (sounded) and non-sonic aspects (the latter may involve the movement behaviour of the player as he performs). In some Bemba music practices it is not only important for the player to give ‘impact motion’, based on the audible sounds, but in addition, what s/he is doing between the ‘impact points’ (his/her movements) and the actions of drumming are also important (Lumbwe 2004:156).²⁰ This practice relates to the Venda *domba* girls’ initiation (Blacking 1973), where initiates perform music. While two girls are playing *mirumba* (alto drums), they simultaneously sway their bodies from side to side, keeping a steady rhythm so that the drumbeat is part of a total body movement. In Bemba musical practice this is evident in Chitwansombo’s performances where this *ingomba* (Royal musician) usually ties his drum with a sling around his neck and swings it, in the motion of a pendulum, as he plays.²¹

6.3.2 Sound producing and playing techniques of the *mfunkutu* drums

Distinctions in sound quality may be heard as different drummers perform. In his study of Venda initiation music Blacking observes that:

If two drummers play the same surface rhythm but maintain an individual, inner difference of tempo or beat, they produce something more than their individual efforts [...] These combined patterns alone can assume a variety of new forms when different parts of a drum-skin are beaten and/or the tones are muffled or clear. (Blacking 1995:59)

Bearing in mind Blacking’s observations of the different techniques of drumming that are employed by Bemba musicians and indeed those from other African musical cultures, it is imperative to scrutinise these techniques one by one. For the purposes of this research Jones

¹⁹ The Lala people fall into the Bemba-speaking category.

²⁰ Kubik (1997:132) calls the movement behaviour or motion while drumming the ‘kinetic aspects’ (kinetic – pertaining to, or due to motion).

²¹ Plate 6.12 shows Chitwansombo, on your left side with his grandson, performing for the Chiefs from all over Zambia at the Kola Foundation launch in Lusaka 2006.

and Kombe's (1952) descriptive model in *Ichila* dance drumming techniques has been adopted.²²

Before going into the details of how sound is produced on the *mfunkutu* drum, some musical traditions require beating the drum with the fingers, while others require using sticks or gourd rattles for beating the drum.

Just as in the other sections of this study, the main concern here will not only be in the description of the playing techniques of *mfunkutu* drums as practised in Bemba marriage ceremonies, but on examining those elements that have changed and those that have survived external influences. It should be borne in mind that 'the technique of playing the drums has an important bearing on the drum rhythms' (Jones & Kombe 1952:16) produced on a particular drum. That is why in the early days the Bemba were very particular about the player's stance and manner in which the instrument was handled when playing. With regards to the player's stance, Chitwansombo (2006) points out that from the time he was young, adults would caution young children on the importance and how to handle drums. This was done through expressions such as: '*Techakweshu ukwikala pangoma pantu nga wachita ifyo nishi tawakakwate bana*' ('Do not ever sit on a drum because if you do so you will never bear children'). Expressions such as this one were used in order to instil a sense of responsibility and care for musical instruments in the young children (Kapwepwe 1994:7).

There is no prescribed players' stance in *mfunkutu*, because what is important is that the players must be comfortable and able to play properly, and at the same time they should position the drum in such a way that would facilitate the production of the desired quality of sound. Therefore what is presented in this study are the common ways in which players position themselves during different performances.

In the standing position the player may adopt different stances and place the drum in different ways. For the purposes of this study three ways will be described as they are appropriate to

²² There have been several sources that deal with drumming within a Sub-Saharan context as will be seen from the list of sources below. Most of these sources dealt with drumming and drumming techniques in West Africa. Jones and Kombe are the only authors who deal specifically with Zambian drumming. However, it should also be mentioned that Hugh Tracey recorded music from Northern Rhodesia: Lala (Tracey [n.d.]) Herewith a list of authors who dealt with drumming in other parts of Africa: Locke and Babubakari (1990), Euba and Breitingner (1990), Yamamoto and McArthur (c. 1996), Kongo (1997), Locke (1998), Chalo and Kumor (2001), Muthini and Siminyu (2007).

marriage ceremonies. Firstly, a player may sling the drum around the waist while standing upright with a slight tilt of the upper torso forwards. In this position the head of the drum is placed in front of the player, to the left or right (depending upon whether the player is left-handed or not), to a desirable height. This means that the drum may slant down across and in front of the legs, the left leg being slightly advanced or the other way round (the right being slightly advanced) as shown in Plate 6.8. Alternatively, either the left or right leg may be slightly advanced, but the drum is placed in between the legs as shown in Plate 6.9 The arms are bent comfortably allowing the hands to be placed over the top of the drum-head (Jones & Kombe 1952:16).

Plate 6.8 Standing position (© Jones A. M. 1952)

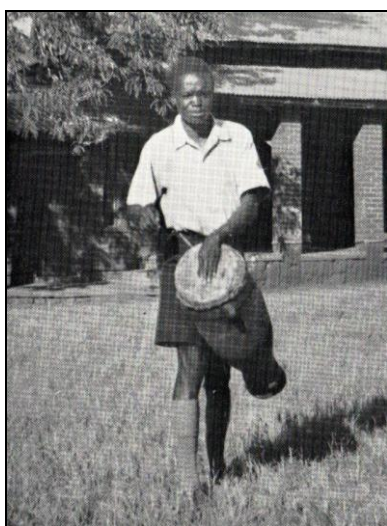


Plate 6.9 Standing position (© *The Lowdown Magazine* 2006)



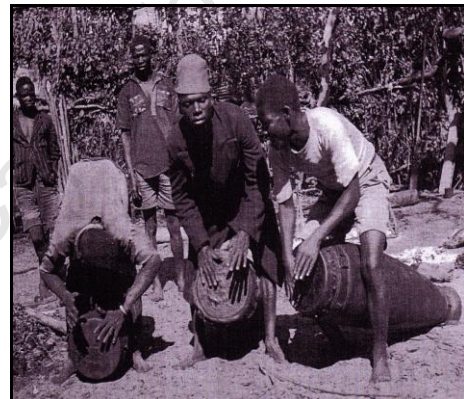
While the drummer is standing and bending the torso forwards, the drum is placed on the ground in front of the player at approximately 45 degrees. In this position the drum is supported by any object to which it is leaning and also the player's legs as shown in Plate 6.10. Usually this stance is adopted when players do not tie the drums around their waists, but they have to maintain a standing position while playing. Furthermore, this stance is usually temporal, especially during Bemba marriage ceremonies. What prompts the players to adopt this manner of playing is when there is a procession, especially during the *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies when different dishes of food are being delivered to the *shibwinga's* house. Sometimes players may prefer to place the drum in between their legs and let it tilt at an angle less than thirty degrees from the ground. In this position the drum is not supported by any

object, but it is kept in place by the drummer's legs. Since the angle at which the drum is tilted is very small the drummer will have to bend lower in order to reach the drum-head – as shown in Plate 6.11. In Plate 6.11 the player on the far left opted to place the drum in between his legs but parallel to the ground (completely lying on the ground), and this meant that he had to bend lower than the other two players, who had their drums tilted at an angle. So far the emphasis has been on static standing position, but some occasions demand that the player should be mobile. As a result the drummer may tie the drum as depicted in Plate 6.8 and then move about as required by the ceremony. However, the player may also tie the drum with a sling around his neck to facilitate his/her mobility while performing (refer to Figure 6.12).²³

Plate 6.10 Standing position (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 6.11 Standing position (© Gluckman M 1940)



²³ This stance and style of play are usually adopted when the drum is double-headed and both sides of the drum are required to be used.

Plate 6.12 Standing position (© Lumbwe 2006)



Throughout the marriage ceremonies I witnessed during my fieldwork I did not come across female drummers playing their drums slang around their waists, unlike their male counterparts. This brings me to another stance which is used by drummers for their performances: the sitting position.

The sitting position is a very common drumming position among the female players. It is also the favourite position adopted during the various marriage ceremonies. This could be attributed to the lengthy periods that drummers have to perform during marriage ceremonies. According to Mukolongo (1999), some marriage ceremonies such as *ukufunda umukashana* and *ubwinga* (indigenous wedding ceremonies) involve singing and dancing for durations of six hours, especially when the rituals are performed overnight. For the sitting position the player may either sit on a stool or chair and place the drum in between his/her bended legs and grips it with his/her knees with the drum pointing obliquely and away from him/her (see Plates 6.13 and 6.14). In some cases a player may choose to sit on the floor and place the drum in front of him/her without tilting it at any angle (the drum lies flat on its base – see Plate 6.15). Though the drummer in Plate 6.8 has adopted an acceptable sitting position, she

did the wrong thing to sit on a drum because this would damage the drum-head. However, this happened mainly because at this stage in the performance the participants had consumed a great deal of alcohol so that infringements of this nature went unnoticed. Similarly in Plate 6.10 the players placed the drums on the floor and then sat on them with the drum-head being in front of them in between their legs. Plate 6.11 shows players drumming while sitting down on chairs with the drums placed in between their legs. However, instead of letting the drum point obliquely away from them, in this case the drums tilt towards them. Having illustrated some of the common stances adopted by players when drumming, different players opt to play in a posture that is comfortable for them. Furthermore, the different stances outlined here are common to the periods under study (pre-colonial era through to the post-independence era).

Plate 6.13 Sitting position (© Lumbwe 2003)



Plate 6.14 Sitting position (© Lumbwe 2003)



Plate 6.15 Sitting position (© Lumbwe 2003)



Plate 6.16 Sitting position (© Lumbwe 2007)



Plate 6.17 Sitting position (© Lumbwe 2007)



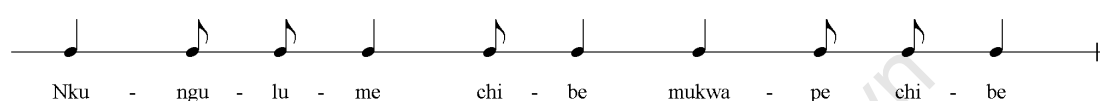
In the category of drumming where the player is beating the drum with fingers, the player holds the hand out, and then either with fingers together or in some cases with fingers splayed, he/she hits the drum with full length of all the fingers including the main joint with

the palm. With the fingers held as described above, the player taps the drum-head sharply, in alternating motion of the left and right hands, enabling the drum membrane to vibrate to its entirety between each tap (Jones & Kombe 1952:17). Though the beating style is free in terms of hand motion, it does not warrant striking the drum-head randomly. In order to elicit the desired tones, the player should utilise the area of the drum-head that lies between the edge of the drum rim and half way towards the centre as shown in Plate 6.8 (Mwela 2003). In his statement Mwela points out that the drummer yields ‘tones’ when playing the drum. This is a very important factor to consider when analysing drumming in *mfunkutu*, because on the drums *sensele*, *ichibitiko* and *itumba* players yield more than one tone (at least three) as they play their rhythm patterns. According to Chitwansombo (2006), for a player to elicit different tones when playing the drum s/he has to vary the pressure applied when striking the drum-head and also ensure precision as to the angle at which the hand descends on the drum-head.

In another playing technique the player beats the drums with both his fingers and palms. The player strikes the drum-head allowing it to vibrate to its full capacity, as is the case with free beating with fingers. However, the main difference here, as Jones and Kombe (1952:18) point out, is that the hand is held out with the sides of the palm contracted resulting in a cup-shaped formation. Though the palm is cup-shaped, the fingers still remain by and large quite flat, thereby leaving the fleshy base that covers the main joints with the palm and the palm itself forming the cup-shape. From the description above, one may be inclined to assume that the player maintains a cup-shaped palm throughout the performance. This is not the case as the cup-shaped formation of the hand is achieved just when the hand is about to land on the drum-head. Furthermore, ‘the muscular action is made from the elbow and not from the wrist’ (Jones & Kombe 1952:18). When observing a drummer playing, it may be difficult to notice the motor action, especially if the tempo of the song is very fast (as is the case in most *mfunkutu* songs performed at marriage ceremonies). During my fieldwork I had to ask Mr Obino Mwela, a professional drummer with the Zambia National Dance Troupe, to demonstrate the different drumming techniques at a very slow speed and out of social context. During the demonstration session with Mwela, he pointed out that when he plays different rhythmic patterns he is actually saying something on the drum. Mwela’s point is also acknowledged by Jones and Kombe (1952) in their study of the Lala *Ichila* dance style. Although Jones and Kombe (1952) claim that the drums say ‘nonsense syllables’, Mwela (2003) and Chitwansombo (2006) dispute this claim and point out that some rhythms make

sensible statements; for instance, one of the *Kasela* dance²⁴ rhythms is based on the following phrase: ‘*Nkungulume ichibe mukwapa ichibe*’ (‘The bachelor has sweat in his armpit’). Furthermore, though some drum pattern syllables do not make lexical sense, they actually make musical sense; hence it is preferable to call them mnemonics as opposed to ‘nonsense syllables’. Drum rhythm syllables aid in teaching and learning of drum rhythms and therefore play a very important role as far as African musical practices are concerned. Apart from making musical sense, they are also used for social commentary to insiders who understand the Bemba drum pattern syllables.

Figure 6.16 *Kasela* dance drum rhythm (*Nkungulume*)



In this category of drumming the player, with cupped palms, may strike the drum-head either with two thirds of the palm including fingers, while a third of the palm overhangs the drum. He may also strike the drum, at the centre of the drum-head, with full palms including fingers. Both these styles of beating the drum produce a ‘very low, deep booming sound’. In *mfunkutu* both styles are employed by *itumba* players as this is the largest and most deep sounding drum of the three that are use in this musical tradition.

As opposed to free beating and allowing the drum-skin to vibrate to its entirety, muted beating involves the hand descending on the drum-head and remaining in contact with it for the duration of half a beat or full beat. To vary the tone of the muted beats, the player may apply varied levels of pressure on the membrane of the drum. As is the case with the other two styles of playing mentioned above (free beating with fingers and free beating with fingers and palm), here also a muted sound could be obtained by using the fingers or two thirds of a palm including fingers, or with a full palm including fingers. In religious choral music, specifically of the Catholic and Anglican churches, where indigenous *mfunkutu* drumming has been incorporated, the player of the small drum strikes the drum-head with the side of the thumbs alternately (close to the rim of the drum) and followed by muted beats yielded by using the finger tips (half way from the rim of the drum towards the centre of the drum-head).²⁵ One

²⁴ *Kasela* is one of the dances performed by the Lala of Central Province of Zambia

²⁵ When beating the drum using finger tips, the fingers are close together and not splayed.

could speculate that this playing technique was adopted to produce a more subdued sound that would have been closer to solemn church music.

So far the drumming styles that have been examined involve playing the drum using hands. However, as already stated earlier in this chapter, some drumming traditions involve playing drums using other agents such as percussion sticks, gourd rattles and drum-beaters. In the Bemba musical tradition *kalela*²⁶ drumming involves playing with percussion sticks as the drums are too big to be played using the hands. Other musical traditions that involve drumming using percussion sticks include the *m'ganda* (also known *Malipenga* dance)²⁷ of the Tumbuka of Northern and Eastern Provinces of Zambia. For both dances, *kalela* and *m'ganda*, the drums are mounted on a pole and then the drummers play while standing – as shown in Plate 6.18. With regards to drumming with sticks, Nketia (1974:89) notes that:

The playing techniques that are applied to particular drums may also be chosen with the sonorities of the drum in mind, as such, some drums are played with sticks – straight and round sticks with or without a knob at the end, or curved or slightly bent sticks – with the weight of the stick depending entirely on the drummers.

Plate 6.18 *Kalela* drummer (© Mgala J 1999)



²⁶ *Kalela* dance is a circle line dance of the Ngumbo from the Lake Bangweulu area.

²⁷ *M'ganda* dance of the Tumbuka people of Northern and Eastern Provinces developed soon after the Second World War and this evident in the dance routines involved, props and instruments.

Reference to the use of percussion sticks for playing drums is important to this study, firstly, because it serves as an illustration of how drumming is done using agents other than the hands and that it is the appropriate method of playing in this style of music. Secondly, during my fieldwork I witnessed three wedding ceremonies where percussion sticks were used for playing *mfunkutu* drums (refer to Plate 6.19 which was taken in Kasama – Mulenga Hill Township). Though this was the case, it was inappropriate to use sticks for beating drums, because this distorted the quality of the sound produced, thereby affecting the whole performance. The use of palms ensures better control of the vibrating drum membrane and makes for more controlled and sensitive playing. The overall quality of the sound is rounder and appears to be softer. The playing of *mfunkutu* drums with sticks is not allowed and players using them are breaking a long-standing indigenous rule.

Plate 6.20 also illustrates infringements in *mfunkutu* drumming during wedding ceremonies. In the same (Plate 6.20) three *mfunkutu* drums are being played by two women prompting one of the players to play two drums *sensele* and *ichubitiko* simultaneously. Furthermore, the second player is using sticks to play the drum. The main questions that arise from this style of performance are: (a) what prompted the drummer to play two drums at the same time? (b) why did one of the players opt to use sticks instead of her hands? (c) what was the effect of the use of sticks for drumming, and (d) how did the playing of two drums simultaneously affect the timbre of the sound produced and the rhythmic patterns performed in this manner?²⁸

Matipa (2003), who played two drums simultaneously, pointed that she had to do so because one of the drummers stopped playing in the middle of a performance. No reason was given for this behaviour. Therefore, in order not to disrupt the smooth running of the performance, she had to assume responsibility. Matipa concedes that her action was a contravention of *mfunkutu* drumming rules, which she would not do under normal circumstances. With regards to playing *mfunkutu* drums with sticks, Kabaso (2003), who played the drum using sticks, admits that it was not the right thing to do, but she was prompted to do so mainly because her hands started hurting because of playing for a very lengthy period.²⁹ Kabaso continues that the whole performance was adversely affected by the major adjustments made to the

²⁸ In this specific instance I was not allowed to make any audio or video recordings, but managed to negotiate taking a few pictures of the drumming.

²⁹ The sticks used in Plates 6.19 and 6.20 were just picked randomly and not specially curved for drumming. Furthermore, the style of striking the side of the drum as is the case in Plate 6.18 is appropriate for *Kalela* dance accompaniment and not *mfunkutu* for marriage ceremonies.

drumming style and technique of playing. Here the combination of rhythmic patterns elicited from *sensele*, *ichibitiko* and *itumba* drums did not qualify to be called *mfunkutu* drumming. Matipa (2003) adds that as the performance proceeded, it was noticeable that there was no proper coordination between the singing and drumming accompaniment, which made it very difficult for the singers to locate the correct entry points into the song cycle. However, Makungu (2003) points out that these violations of *mfunkutu* drumming styles were accepted, firstly, because many participants were drawn from the ‘educated’ group of Mulenga Hill Township and were not keen to participate in indigenous ceremonies, and secondly, the organising *nachimbusa* was not strict enough to interject and make amends.

Plate 6.19 *Mfunkutu* drumming using sticks instead of hands (© Lumbwe 2003)



Plate 6.20 *Mfunkutu* drumming using two drums (© Lumbwe 2003)



This study has found out that the methods of playing the drum, plus the quality of the materials used in making the drum, help to determine the timbre and volume of sound produced on the drum. Therefore *mfunkutu* drumming for marriage ceremonies could be summarised as follows – the drummer produces the desired sounds by striking the drum-skin head with open hands yielding variations by:

- Striking the drum-head at different points such as in the centre or on the rim;
- Striking the drum with fingers only;

- Striking the drum with scooped hands or flattened hands;
- Striking the drum with a gentle bounce (open strike);
- Striking the drum with a forceful slap (closed strike);

With regards to the players' stance the most common include:

- Playing the drum while standing or while sitting;
- Placing the drum between the drummer's legs, which are folded around the circumference of the cylinder or cone of the drum, with one end of the drum (head) resting on the ground at a slanting angle of about 30° towards or away from the player;
- Placing the drum between the drummer's legs without the drum resting on the ground. In this position the drummer may be either standing or sitting. This position is commonly adopted or taken when playing a small and light drum;
- Placing the drum with its one head resting on the ground completely, leaving the playing head horizontally in front of the player;
- Placing the drum in a vertical position on its side with its resonating cylinder resting on the ground and leaving both drum-heads perpendicular to the ground. The drummer has to straddle the drum in such a way that one of the drum-heads is facing in front of him/her while the other is facing behind (Lumbwe 2004:159–160).

In addition, the study reveals that, by and large, the *mfunkutu* methods of playing drums have been maintained over the years, though with slight variations to suit the changing environment and social conditions in which marriage ceremonies are performed. It is evident that the three main drums – *sensele*, *ichibitiko* and *itumba* – are still the main drums, though there have been adjustments made as to what materials are used for making these drums. Furthermore, there has been a growing tendency to use borrowed drums from other musical traditions within and outside Zambia (especially from related ethnic groups). Roberts (1973:175) points out that the Tabwa people of Northern Zambia have assimilated drums from their counterparts (the Tabwa) in the Democratic Republic of Congo. From my experience during fieldwork, I noted that a family in Lusaka borrowed drums from the Zambia National Dance Troupe (ZNDT) for *ichilangamulilo* ceremony, and the same drums are use by the Dance Troupe for performing different dances from all over the country. Kaschoki (2008)³⁰ verified these findings when he read this particular section on *mfunkutu* drumming.

6.4 Dance structures and movement, and dramatisation in Bemba marriage ceremonies

In Bemba terms dance is known as *ichila* (pl. *ifila*), and likewise music for dance is known as *ingoma ya chila* (lit. the drum for a dance) (Mapoma 1980:36). Therefore, *ukuchinda* means

³⁰ Prof. Kashoki is a widely published Zambian linguist and an insider and experienced drummer who has witnessed changes over the last 60 years.

‘to dance’. Music and dance are interrelated, and music stimulates a person to respond, in one way or the other, with his body. This is also the case in many African societies. In dance, the motor feelings that a person experiences are derived from the rhythmic structures inherent in the accompanying music, and any changes in the tempo of the music will result in certain mechanised changes in the dance movements, thereby illustrating that sound and movement are inextricably intertwined (Nketia 1974:211; Agawu 1995:91; Lumbwe 2004:161). In addition, music in this case is only one of the several ingredients that contribute to the creation of the exciting atmosphere during a given performance (Agawu 1995:93). Dance, in relation to music, is performed at different social occasions, in various societies, in Africa. In this sense dance serves as a conduit of expression, and people often relay their morals and beliefs through the selection of appropriate dance vocabulary and symbolic gestures, and all the different movements in a dance are linked to the purposes of the social context in which the dance is being performed. In this regard Nketia points out that:

The importance attached to the dance does not lie only in the scope it provides for the release of emotion stimulated by music. The dance can also be used as a social and artistic medium of communication. It can convey thoughts or matters of personal or social importance through the choice of movements, postures, and facial expressions. Through the dance, individuals and social groups can show their reactions to attitudes of hostility or cooperation and friendship held by others towards them (1974:207).

From Nketia’s observations it is evident that there are various purposes for the dances. For this study the significance of dance lies in the role it plays in Bemba indigenous marriage ceremonies as a means to impart marriage instructions to those being initiated. As indicated earlier in this chapter, *mfunkutu* dance is the main style employed in the different marriage ceremonies (its movements will be elaborated on later). Bemba marriage ceremonies there are no choreographed dance routines; instead free *mfunkutu* dance movements with their conventions are observed by all the participants. Before going into *mfunkutu* dancing, it is imperative to point out that generally African dance may be made up of movements that are either simple or somewhat complicated in conception. A basic dance structure could be a sequence of different steps or movements, or a single pattern of very few steps and movements (a motif), which is repeated for a certain period of time. In this case Nketia (1974:211) points out that the basic dance structure may involve movements of parts of the body which are performed simultaneously, in combinations of hand and leg gestures, shoulder and hip movements, and shuffling of the feet.

Beyond body movements in response to music there are various dance styles which could be categorised as individual (solo) dances and communal (group) dances, solo dancing by males and solo dancing by females, and communal dancing by males, by females and a mixture of both male and female (Blacking 1985). These categories could further be subdivided into line dances and circle line dances. Circle line dances form the bulk of communal dances, with the general movement being counter-clockwise. This performance formation has been described by Blacking (1985:75) in his study of Venda girls' initiation as being:

appropriate for the restricted dancing space that was common in mountainous Venda countryside, but it could also be related to the symbolic significance of the circle in Venda thought.

In terms of performance setting, there are those African dances that are set out of doors, or in unbounded space, while there are others that are set indoors, in confined, bounded or closed space. Performance space in dance is vital as it is one of the determinants of movements embedded in the different dances.

6.4.1 *Mfunkutu* dance and performance structure in Bemba marriage ceremonies

Having looked at African dance in general, it is now important to turn to *mfunkutu* dance and its performance practices entrenched in Bemba indigenous marriage ceremonies. Following the classifications of African dance mentioned above, *mfunkutu* could be described as a solo (female or male), and for the most part confined (indoor – for *chisungu*, *ukufunda umukashana*, *ichilangamulilo*, *ukulasa imbusa* and *ukwingisha* ceremonies) and also on a smaller scale unbounded (out of doors – *chisungu*, *ubwinga*, and *ukuluula* and *ukushikula*). In *mfunkutu* dancing there is distinctive motor behaviour in which the most visibly active area of the body is the lower trunk area, but this activity integrates with rhythmic processes in other areas, notably the feet, and also generates subtle rhythmic movements in the head, arms and shoulders (Lumbwe 2004:163). By extension, dance action in *mfunkutu* involves a rapid swivelling of the hips in lateral movements from right to left, within a duration of three pulses or triple beat ().

This action is performed simultaneously with the same directional movement of the dancer's feet, but she rises on the ball of each foot, with the torso stretching slightly upwards in order to execute the swivel. This action produces the transference of weight support laterally from right to left foot, but the knees always remain in a straight position. As the dancer proceeds with a series of *mfunkutu* movements, the speed of the swivelling action (which is continuously performed) is determined by the pace of the drumming (Lumbwe 2004:166–

167).³¹ The motor behaviour described above is represented in Bemba terms by the expression *ukuifukutawila* (Mapoma 1980:38). It is common practice for people who dance *mfunkutu* to tie a *chitenge* (a length of Zambian fabric) around their waist and hips. Two things happen when a *chitenge* is tied around the dancer's waist. Firstly, the cloth enhances the swivelling movements, and secondly, wearing the cloth around that part of the body helps the dancer to focus mentally on the lower torso area (Lumbwe, 2004:167).³² According to Ilunga (2003), *mfunkutu* dancing, especially the swivelling, could be very difficult to execute, and although individuals may bring in their own personal 'inventiveness' to their performance, there is a conventional way which is deemed the right way of doing it (likewise, should a dancer fail to do the swivelling properly, then his/her actions will be deemed wrong).

With regards to the performance structure of *mfunkutu*, the dance is directly related to the antiphonal exchange between solo and chorus singing. The soloist singer leads in singing for a few cycles and then begins dancing from a normal vertical position, with both feet on the ground and legs together, with both knees straight. The arms hang from the shoulder joints and are bent inwards at the elbows, so that the dancer's hands approach each other in front of the upper torso, while the wrists hang flexibly (the rest of the actions and movements are executed as described in the paragraph above). The setting for the performance arena, which in urban houses is situated in the living room, and for the village the only room in the hut, is usually a circular or semi-circular formation. This formation is maintained throughout the ceremonies and the initiate is usually positioned in or near the centre. The open space in the centre of the circle is used by the person presenting or performing the song and dance, while the participating audience remains freely around the opening. In *mfunkutu* dancing the person dancing performs more or less on the same spot, but may gradually move a very minimal distance of about a few steps. As the performance proceeds, two or three other participants in attendance may step inside the circle from time to time to support the song-dance presenter (Lumbwe 2004:166).³³ In essence, at any given time during the performance there is a singer-dancer (presenting) and a chorus that ensures that the singing continues. Furthermore, the

³¹ To an onlooker the rapid swivels may appear to be twisting or rotating, while in fact no rotation is actually achieved. The dancer's feet provide the basis for the swinging/turning action (Lumbwe 2004:167).

³² Throughout my fieldwork I observed that men preferred to tie their jackets around their waists as opposed to tying *chitenge* material. According to Tinalesa (1998), men are prompted to use their jackets as they do not carry around *chitenge* to be used for such functions. Otherwise it is convenient for the women to use *chitenge* as they usually wrap them around their waists as part of their traditional regalia.

³³ There is no prescribed number of performers at a given time, but it has been common practice to have a limited number to allow the initiate to follow the instructions easily. Throughout my fieldwork I did not come across any marriage ceremony where all in attendance were dancing.

nachimbusa in charge of the ceremony takes control of the proceedings (rituals) and ensures that the conventions are followed by all in attendance. With regards to the role of *nachimbusa*, Mutale (2006) points out that if presenters go against the customary way of conducting the instructions, the proceedings would be stopped and reconvened when *nachimbusa* has made amends.

6.5 Dramatisation and mime in Bemba marriage ceremonies

Singing and dancing are not the only methods of imparting marriage instructions in Bemba marriage ceremonies. Furthermore, not all songs are accompanied by *mfunkutu* dances. Instead of dancing, movement patterns which are representational and have musical significance, either emulating, or symbolising expected behaviour patterns in adult social and married life, are either acted out with props, or mimed as a song is sung. As stated already, in all Bemba marriage songs there is expected motor behaviour consisting of specially designed and recognised movements which have to be executed, and which are the basic language (both musical and metaphorical) of a particular dance or dramatic actions (Lumbwe 2004:165). For instance, in Plate 6.21 the scene represents movement patterns which indicate the importance of social harmony and mutual co-operation in marriage, and the undesirable results of being a bad spouse.³⁴ During the *ichilangamulilo* ceremony mimed scenes which send messages of the importance of some of the wife's obligations, such as preparing good food for the husband and children, ensuring that the husband looks presentable in public, respect for the husband etc., are prominent (refer to Plates 6.22, 6.23 and 6.24).

Plate 6.21 Dramatising a divorce scene during the *ukufunda umukashana* ceremony (© Lumbwe 2003)



³⁴ This act was captured during an *ukufunda umukashana* ceremony in Kasama.

Plate 6.22 *Nachimbusa* miming wife's obligation to prepare good food for the husband (© Lumbwe 2006)



Plate 6.23 *Nachimbusa* miming wife's obligation to ensure that the husband looks presentable in public³⁵ (© Lumbwe K 2006)



³⁵ During the *ichilangamulilo* ceremony, while the song *Kasambe umulume wechinangwa* is being sung, the *nachimbusa* in charge washes the hands and feet of *shibwinga*.

Plate 6.24 Miming *ukulamba*: an act symbolic of respect for the husband who is head of the family³⁶ (© Lumbwe K 2006)



6.6 The influence of social context on the structure and style of marriage *mfunkutu*

Scholars such as Rycroft (1968), Mapoma (1980), Hansen (1981), Blacking (1982), Dargie (1988) and Kubik (1994) in their studies of sub-Saharan African music have shown that the forms of some sub-Saharan African music depend upon the social contexts in which they are performed. Furthermore, factors such as the size of the performing group, the musical ability, ingenuity and versatility of performers in a group, the presence or absence of a good lead singer or dancer or instrumentalist, may contribute to the quality and effectiveness of the performance (Tracey & Uzoigwe 2003; Lumbwe 2004:131).

The question that should be addressed now is: what affects musical performances within Bemba marriage ceremonies? In this study the following factors have been identified as the determinants of the quality of performances:

- The size of the performing group;
- The musical ability of the participants;
- The ingenuity and versatility of individuals within the performing group; and
- The presence and absence of a good lead singer, lead dancer, and instrumentalist (Lumbwe 2004:131).

³⁶ The Bemba act of *ukulamba* – to lie down on one's side and clap hands, and then roll to the other side and clap hands again – is similar to the act of *losha* of the Venda people of South Africa.

The qualities listed above could be looked at in two periods, that of the pre-colonial times and the current (post-independence times). As indicated in Chapter Three, in indigenous Bemba marriage ceremonies, all in attendance are active participants in musical activities (songs and dances) with selected leaders (*bana chimbusa*) and audience who are expected to observe certain conventions. In the pre-colonial days musical performances were arranged in such a way that for certain rituals and prescribed activities selected *bana chimbusa* lead the songs and dances, supported by the participating audience, who responded in a customary sequence (Lumbwe 2004:132). This meant that for certain rituals an individual (solo) would lead in singing and dancing, while the rest responded in chorus. Other rituals required a solo leader in singing, with the audience responding in chorus, and a small number of dancers (usually three to four). The leading of singing and dancing in both settings was done sequentially involving all members present at the ceremony. The size of the participating audience was determined by the nature of the ceremony. For instance, the *ubwinga* (wedding) ceremony has since early times involved a larger audience than any of the marriage ceremonies. The size of the audience is a crucial factor that also determined the presentation of the musical performances. Furthermore, the nature and size of the ceremony resulted in the relative shortening or lengthening of some of the ceremonies. Besides characteristics of the ceremonies mentioned above, others such as the available performance space, be it indoors or outdoors, contributed to the manner in which musical activities were performed. For instance, ceremonies that were required to be performed indoors, such as *ichilangamulilo* and *ukwingisha*, when attended by many people constricted and limited the space for musical activities (Lumbwe 2004:132). Furthermore, in the villages the size of the huts, which were usually very small in comparison to the modern houses in the cities and towns, also contributed to the restricted space for musical performance.

Currently, the idea of having selected *bana chimbusa* to lead in the performance of musical activities for different rituals during marriage ceremonies has continued as in the pre-colonial days. But what seems to be different is that the same selected *bana chimbusa* tend to do almost all the leading of the singing and dancing with very limited audience participation. This development could be attributed to:

- Lack of experience and knowledge of the songs on the part of the guests who are usually invited to marriage ceremonies;
- The inclusion of the uninitiated people in some of the ceremonies, especially at *ichilangamulilo*, *ubwinga* and *ukwingisha* ceremonies;

- The ‘educated’ women (those who have gone through a Western schooling system) look down upon indigenous marriage musical arts as being inferior and therefore meant to be performed by the ‘uneducated’ (those who have not gone through Western schooling system).

Out of the three factors listed above, the first one has contributed adversely to the change in the manner in which musical performances are conducted during wedding ceremonies. As indicated in Chapter Three, there are ‘companies’ that have been formed in Lusaka, and it is evident that this development has led to a shift from having participating audiences at wedding ceremonies to having audiences that play a more passive role or remain as mere spectators. Instead of members of the audience taking turns in leading in the singing and dancing, this role is left entirely in the hands of the hired ‘experts’. In situations such as this one outlined above, ‘members of the commonly interactive audience [mainly] move in and out of the performance space’ (Nzewi 2007:95) to encourage performers with ululation (an act known in Bemba as *ukusowelele* or *ukusebelele*). The issue of having limited participation from the audience does not reflect all the indigenous wedding ceremonies that I attended, and those I have been informed about.

According to Mutale (2006), audience participation depends upon the people invited to the ceremony, and the result of this is variation on the level of participation from the people present at the ceremony. Mutale continues that the level of participation also affects the repertoire of songs utilised at any given ceremony. That is why disparities are evident in the number of songs performed at different wedding ceremonies, and from occasion to occasion. With regards to the number of songs performed at marriage ceremonies, Ilunga (2002) points out that in the early days it was common practice for many songs to be performed at each ceremony, even if the participants were fewer. Ilunga continues that currently the number of songs performed at marriage ceremonies is far fewer than that of the ceremonies held in the early days. Following Ilunga’s claim on the number of participants who take part in leading songs and dances during indigenous wedding ceremonies, no exact figures could be provided as there were no quantitative data collected on this subject. However, what has been considered are the observable estimates made by selected *bana chimbusa* (who were interviewed) and my own experience.

Considering other factors that determine the nature of musical performances at marriage ceremonies, what comes to mind is that because of overcrowding, the quantity and quality of music is adversely affected. Observations made by Fulanshi in 2003 (in Lumbwe 2004:132)

indicate that disturbances and distortions of music during performances at marriage ceremonies are avoided in the following ways:

- By the seating arrangements which are adjusted to the position of the person being initiated, and who must be at the centre of the available space;
- By the limited size the performing group, as in antiphonal performances of songs and dance, in which the lead singer is responded to and supported by a comparatively small chorus group and a manageable number of dancers – two to four in number;
- By the control and directions given by *nachimbusa* (midwife) in charge of the ceremonies.

The organising *nachimbusa* is usually mindful of the need for orderliness and seriousness, especially because during the different marriage ceremonies participants consume alcoholic drinks and also people are overcome with excitement. To control shouting or higher levels of talking or increased levels of drum accompaniment, the *nachimbusa* in charge constantly reminds participants to concentrate on the proceedings. However, at two *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies I attended in Lusaka during my fieldwork, people had consumed so much alcohol that within the audience small groups of people chatting were formed; the result was that the conversations were so loud that the rituals could not be performed properly and the combination of singing and talking ended up in a noisy situation. A chaotic situation such as this ensued mainly because the selected *naachimbusa* in charge of the ceremonies got so intoxicated that she lost control of herself and the participants. Furthermore, Sondashi (2006), who was present at one of the ceremonies where there was chaos, observes that besides having a *nachimbusa* who took too much alcohol and lost control of herself, within the audience (i.e. including the hosting family of the *shibwinga* – groom) no one took an interest in helping to arrest the situation. As a researcher it was very difficult for me to follow the proceedings, but I used the chance to interview some individuals present at the ceremony. The outlined chaotic *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies were exceptions, because the majority of such ceremonies are very orderly and seriously conducted. Furthermore, relative silence is maintained where it is required, especially during moments when commentaries are being spoken.

Another important aspect of musical performance at the marriage ceremonies is the association between the participating audience (members of which have undergone the rituals) and the organising *nachimbusa*. Although the former may not be specialist midwives, by virtue of having gone through the rites of passage they know the repertoire of songs and how to present them. As such their participation reiterates and reinforces the lessons provided

by *bana chimbusa* and sometimes even introduces issues that may have been omitted or overlooked by *bana chimbusa* (Lumbwe 2004:133). Considering that the initiate remains silent for the most part of the training during the different ceremonies, one wonders how they learn the different songs and dances. However, Fulanshi (2003) points out that the person undergoing marriage training is not expected to sing and dance, but once she is married, her full participation in the musical activities will be expected, as will a degree of expertise. Kambole (2002) adds that through regular participation in many different marriage ceremonies, involving years of experience, people acquire proficiency in performing marriage music.

One characteristic which is peculiar to marriage music only is that no special time is set aside for rehearsals. Otherwise other musics in Bemba musical culture have special times when people conduct rehearsals (Lumbwe 2004:134). With regards to the organisation and leading in the performances, there are small groups of marriage trainers who are specially selected by *bana chimbusa*. The idea of marriage training teams within given communities existed in the early days (pre-colonial times) and still exists to this day. However, currently there are two types of marriage training groups. Firstly, one type consists of experienced members from the community who are selected by a *nachimbusa* who has been given the task of training a community member's daughter. Such a group may only exist for a particular wedding or a couple of them. In other words it could be temporal or semi-permanent. For such groups to operate there is no demand for payment to be given before they perform their task. However, it is incumbent upon the family that engages them to give a token of appreciation. In the early days gifts of chicken, cloth, beads and other food stuffs were commonly offered in appreciation. Nowadays gifts of *chitenge* (local fabric), chicken and money are commonly offered. Secondly, another type of marriage trainers consists of those who have formed a commercial working group (commonly referred to as 'companies'). Such groups are permanent and they advertise their services. Before such a group could conduct any training session(s), they demand a certain amount of money to cover the cost for their services. The main difference between the former and the latter groups is that:

- The former are very experienced *bana chimbusa* who are also well known to all families in the given community;
- The latter are self-proclaimed '*bana chimbusa*' who could be contracted without necessarily knowing the initiate or even the family that contracts them.

The differences outlined above have raised issues about how genuine the training offered by commercial groups is. Mutale (2006) points out that some members of some of the commercial teams are uninitiated and therefore do not qualify to train other people.

6.7 Contemporary music in Bemba wedding ceremonies

As stated in Chapter Four, Bemba wedding ceremonies have incorporated Western wedding elements such as the kitchen party, Christian church service, the reception and wedding aftermath, these ceremonies entail the performance of music during the celebrations. Hence the type of music performed at these ceremonies mainly includes Christian (gospel) and contemporary music from within Zambia, from Africa and from other parts of the world. In order to examine contemporary music in wedding ceremonies, each ceremony will be considered separately and its music discussed apart from the others.

6.7.1 The music of the kitchen party ceremonies

Because of the ceremonial settings of the kitchen parties, which have been described in Chapter Four, the music here is drawn from indigenous wedding and *chisungu mfunkutu* and contemporary Christian gospel. Practically, the distinction between the musics is achieved through the different rituals that constitute the whole ceremony. The following are the main components of the kitchen party and examples will be provided for each one of them. The examples selected are not the only songs performed at these functions, but they are the most common from the fieldwork video review of ceremonies in Lusaka and Kitwe.

The entry procession is performed at two levels: firstly, entry into the grounds of the venue (which is usually the home of the hosting matron of honour or that of a selected relative of *nabwinga*); secondly, entry into the performance arena (which could be indoors, but is usually outdoors). As the procession customarily makes its entry into the grounds of the kitchen party venue, songs such as the following are sung:

Table 6.14 *Nse nse tubatwalile*

Leader:	<i>Nse nse</i> <i>Nse nse</i>	
Chorus:	<i>Tubatwalile</i> <i>Tubatwalile abene bakayonawile.</i>	Let's take it to them Let's take it to them, they will spoil it themselves.

Table 6.15 *Twaisa ee*

Leader:	<i>Twaisa ee twaisa lelo</i>	We have come, we have come today
Chorus:	<i>Ichalo balalengula</i>	In the world you must be alert
Leader:	<i>Twaisa ee twaisa lelo</i>	We have come, we have come today.
Chorus:	<i>Ichalo bala temwa noko.</i>	In the world you must love your mother.

These two examples are songs drawn from indigenous marriage *mfunkutu* songs, while the next one is drawn from the *buomba* (Bemba indigenous style of singing adopted by the Catholic Church in its liturgical services).

Table 6.16 *Kalombo mwane*

Leader:	<i>Ba Lesa twamuchindika</i>	God we respect you
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i> <i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i> <i>Kalombo mwane</i>	
Leader:	<i>Nga mwaumfwa ubwite bwamfumu</i>	When you receive an invitation from God
Chorus:	<i>Mwasuke muchinshi muchinshi</i> <i>Mwasuke muchinshi muchinshi</i> <i>Kalombo mwane</i>	You should answer with respect You should answer with respect

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the format of the kitchen party has come to resemble that of the wedding reception. In this case it means that the entry procession is performed with a dance routine or more accompanied by recorded or live gospel music (refer to accompanying DVD Chapter 6). This development demonstrates how dynamic the kitchen parties are in terms of content, format and organisation.

When *nabwinga's* party reaches the designated sitting place (which is usually isolated from all the other invited guests), the *chitenge* (Zambian fabric) that she is covered in is removed. As the unveiling is being performed the whole gathering sings songs to accompany the act. The following are examples of songs performed as the unveiling of *nabwinga* takes place:

Table 6.17 *Twamiletele nsansa*

Leader:	<i>Twamiletele nsansa ee (yemwe)</i>	We have brought you happiness
Chorus:	<i>Twamiletele nsansa</i>	We have brought you happiness
	<i>Twamiletele nsansa ee</i>	We have brought you happiness
	<i>Twamiletele nsansa</i>	We have brought you happiness,
	<i>ukufuma ku Lusaka.</i>	from Lusaka.
Leader:	<i>Abanenu nga bamyendela</i>	When your friends come to you
Chorus:	<i>Mubabike mubwananyina.</i>	You should include them in your community
	<i>Twamiletele nsansa</i>	We have brought you happiness,
	<i>ukufuma ku Lusaka.</i>	from Lusaka.

Table 6.18 *Fipelwa naba Yawe*

Chorus:	<i>Fipelwa naba Yawe</i>	They are given by God
	<i>Fipelwa naba Yawe</i>	They are given by God

This ritual has been modified a lot in recent times to an extent that the role of unveiling *nabwinga* has been allocated to the *shibwinga* who is brought in for a short time. During this time the *shibwinga*, escorted by the chief best man, presents a rose flower to the *nabwinga* and then customarily unveils her. After performing his designated role, the *shibwinga* is presented with a gift from the *nabwinga* and then immediately takes his leave. In some cases *shibwinga* is unable to make it to the kitchen party or he is not interested. In such situations a representative from the *shibwinga*'s family is specially selected among the female relatives present at the kitchen party to perform the ritual on his behalf (refer to Chapter 9 on the accompanying DVD).

As indicated in Chapter Three, during the feast recorded music is played on a music system. In this case the music selections played depend on the discretion of the person in charge of providing the music, though the format of the kitchen party determines the sort of music that could be played. This means that if the setting is religious, then gospel music will be performed, and if it is not then secular music is performed. At this stage of the celebrations there is no dancing expected; therefore, music is played one piece after the other while the guests have their meal. The trend has been that popular songs of the time are played from CDs or cassettes. During the time I conducted fieldwork between the year 2005 and 2007 the popular pieces included those listed in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19 Contemporary music played at Kitchen Parties

Title of song	Composer	Genre
<i>Ichupo ninsansa</i>	Prof P. K. Chishala	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Ndume yandi</i>	Teddy Chilambe	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Sunge chupo</i>	Teddy Chilambe	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Banamayo mufyupo</i>	Glorious Band	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Ichupo chakulala pa mpapa</i>	Shalawambe	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Itumba</i>	Alfred Chisala Kalusha	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Londole</i>	Sakala Brothers	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Ndelele mwana</i>	Distro Kuomboka Band	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Mbunge yami</i>	Lumbani Madoda	Contemporary Gospel ³⁷
<i>Naluntutwe</i>	Lumbani Madoda	Contemporary Gospel
<i>Ukuboko</i>	Matthew Ngosa	Contemporary Gospel
<i>Ukulolela</i>	Matthew Ngosa	Contemporary Gospel
<i>Ukutemwa kwenu</i>	Adonai Pentecostal singers	Contemporary Gospel

According to Kapotwe (2006), the selection of songs played at kitchen parties is based on the message in the lyrics of the song, the style of music and the tempo. Kapotwe continues that danceable tunes are favoured. In the 1970s and 1980s the use of recorded music was not a common feature at kitchen parties. This development has become very popular since the late 1990s. As Ilunga (2002) notes, it was very common for marriage *mfunkutu* music to be the most prominent kind of music performed at kitchen parties during the 1970s, but with fewer people being acquainted with the marriage songs, and also technological advancements (with regards to music equipment such as disco players), party organisers tend to rely mainly on recorded music, which is easily accessible.

Furthermore, Ilunga points out that because of the inclusion of contemporary gospel music live bands are now becoming a common feature at kitchen parties. Bands that play gospel music are drawn from Pentecostal churches. Gospel bands are hired purely on business terms (to perform music) just as photographers and caterers are (refer to Chapter 26 on accompanying DVD). From the table above it is noticeable that the selections mainly include local music sung in local languages. *Londole* and *Ndelele mwana* are sung in Nyanja, *Mbunge yami* in Kaonde, while the rest are sung in Bemba. This characteristic of the kitchen party demonstrates that, despite external influences, the Bemba traditions remain prominent.

³⁷ Though the music is commonly referred to as contemporary gospel and the term has been adopted for this research, it is actually played in the style of Congolese rumba.

Ngoshe (2008) points out that her experience has been that even if the kitchen party is being performed for a girl from the Tonga, Lozi, Nsenga or any other ethnic group, the dominant music is Bemba marriage music.

Since presentation of gifts is performed at three levels, the performance of the music varies also. As indicated in Chapter Three, gifts are presented to *nabwinga*, firstly, collectively by her family and that of the groom and then, secondly, individually by her friends, the music to accompany the presentations is also performed according to the ceremonies. When the family representatives conduct the presentation of gifts to the *nabwinga*, either recorded music is played or the presenters sing songs as the proceedings go on. As this is going on, the rest of the guests continue eating and drinking. However, when friends are invited to present their gifts to *nabwinga*, one after the other they each go to the place where *nabwinga* is seated and before presenting the gift a song and dance is performed by the presenter. At this stage it is common practice for marriage *mfunkutu* songs to be performed. The following are examples of songs collected from the kitchen party presentation ceremonies.

Table 6.20 *Nachisungu*

Leader:	<i>Nachisungu balamutasha ukuwama</i>	The initiate's beauty is praised
Chorus:	<i>Nshamumwene</i>	I did not see her
Leader:	<i>Mpeni umwenge nsanikile mayo wandi.</i>	Give me a splinter so that I can light it for my mother.
Chorus:	<i>Nshamumwene</i>	I did not see her

Table 6.21 *Komo komo*

Leader:	<i>Komo komo</i>	Unblock, unblock
Chorus:	<i>Komona umwana amatwi</i>	Unblock the child's ears

Table 6.22 *Ilinso*

Leader:	<i>Ilinso</i>	The eye
Chorus:	<i>Lyali limo ilinso, lyali limo</i>	The eye was one, it was one
Leader:	<i>Nomba natemwa</i>	Now I am happy
Chorus:	<i>Yaba yabili amenso, yaba yabili</i>	They are two eyes, they are two

These examples are not the standard songs for the presentation ceremonies, but were common to several kitchen parties reviewed. Furthermore, at this point the songs serve as a means to impart knowledge to *nabwinga*; therefore, the guests select those songs they feel are appropriate or reinforce the lesson they intend to communicate. Kapotwe (2006) notes that the presentation of gifts in this manner is a simulation of the indigenous system followed during *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremonies (explained in detail in Chapter Three). Kapotwe continues that there are differences in the way this section is conducted, depending upon the

number of people presenting their gifts. This is the case because time has to be considered since there is a programme to be followed. That is why, according to Mutale (2006), at some parties where there are many invited guests, friends are asked to present their gifts in small groups to save time.

The third part of the presentation of gifts is when *nabwinga* offers tokens of appreciation to her mother, mother-in-law and the matron of honour. As this presentation ceremony is performed by *nabwinga*, recorded music is either played or guests would sing and dance to *mfunkutu* songs. The presentation of gifts by *nabwinga* does not take long; therefore one song could be performed for the ceremony.

In the case of the kitchen parties commonly referred to as ‘Christian kitchen party’, the presentation of gifts is accompanied by gospel music either recorded or played by a live band. However, what has remained very indigenous is the crawling (*ukwamfula*) as *nabwinga* moves and *ukulamba/ukukunkula* (the Bemba act of lying down on the ground on one’s side and clapping hands, and then rolling to the other side and clapping hands again – as a gesture for showing respect to someone) (refer to Chapters 12 and 24 on the accompanying DVD).

As opposed to the entry procession, which is in two stages, the exit procession is only on one stage, which is from the performance arena. Because of the extreme excitement and in some cases excessive consumption of alcoholic drinks, this part of the kitchen party is rather chaotic in the sense that some guests will take to the dance floor while *nabwinga*’s procession exits the venue. Despite the seemingly chaotic situation, the exit procession is performed according to custom. Just as is the case in the other stages of the kitchen party ceremonies, there is no specific song(s) for this activity. However, the common songs from the kitchen parties reviewed are indicated below.

Table 6.23 *Nalaya umusololo*

Leader:	<i>Nasha nalayo musololo</i>	I am bidding you farewell
Chorus:	<i>Lolo wa malwa</i>	
Leader:	<i>Mwikeba ati Lolo talaile</i>	Do not say that I didn’t say goodbye
Chorus:	<i>Lolo wa malwa</i>	

Table 6.24 *Mwansendela ulupe*

Leader:	<i>Mwansedelo lupe</i>	You have taken my winnowing basket
Chorus:	<i>Nemwine ndulumba nalo, mwansedelo lupe.</i>	I wonder around with it, you have taken my winnowing basket.

Besides the marriage *mfunkutu* songs above, gospel music has become very popular and the following is an example of such influence:

Table 6.25 Come and see what the Lord has done (Gospel song)

Leader:	Come and see
Chorus:	Come and see Come and see what the Lord has done.

Along with the inclusion of choreographed dance routines, recorded contemporary gospel music is used for the exit procession. From the reviewed kitchen party video recordings and the comments by informants, the shift from Bemba indigenous singing and drumming has been to a great extent the result of the change in responsibility of organising kitchen parties. The main organisers of kitchen parties are mainly younger people who are drawn from *nabwinga's* friends. In this case the age range of such organisers could be between 28 to 40. Fulanshi (2003) notes that over the years the setting of the kitchen parties has taken a similar shape to that of the wedding reception as far as the musical arts are concerned. Fulanshi continues that more and more indigenous musical elements are being replaced by contemporary styles to such an extent that in the long run the outlook of kitchen parties which were more inclined to adopt Bemba indigenous way of presenting gifts to *nabwinga* will take on a more Western-oriented approach, where only commentaries will be made without singing and dancing and soft music playing in the background.

6.7.2. The music of the Christian church wedding ceremonies

As stated above, the music played during the church wedding ceremonies is mainly hymns from the given denomination. Besides the Pentecostal churches that rely mainly on contemporary gospel music, the older churches such as the Catholic, Anglican, Reformed Church of Zambia and the United Church of Zambia have maintained the use of Western traditional hymns. Though there may be specific hymns or songs prescribed for wedding ceremonies, it has been common practice that the priest in charge of celebrating mass would select the hymns that complement his sermon (teaching). The following hymns serve as examples collected from wedding church services I attended during fieldwork.

Figure 6.17 Piano and vocal score for the hymn ‘The lord is my shepherd’

Piano Vocal

The Lord Is My Shepherd

The score is written for piano and voice. The piano part is in D major (two sharps) and 3/4 time. The vocal part is in the same key and time. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The score is divided into four systems, each with a piano part and a vocal part. The lyrics are: 'The Lord is my shepherd and I want to follow where ever he leads me where to And while on the journey to where we are go-ing, he's prom-ised to be there ev-er he goes Ov-er the wa-tains the wa-ters and by-ways the va-lleys and high-ways He's wait-ing for help us a-long Ov-er the moun-tain we'll walk on to-ge-ther, to have all the won-ders he's gi-ven to me me. And I want to go to meet Him there to lay my-self down in His love The Lord is my shep-herd and I want to foll-ow where - ev - er he leads me where - ev - er he goes'.

6.7.3. The music of the wedding reception

Since the wedding reception is set in a contemporary Western style, the music at these ceremonies has been predominantly from other styles than the contemporary local or even indigenous ones. The utilisation of foreign musics such as pop, rock, country, reggae, etc. for wedding receptions was prevalent from the early 1960s to the late 1970s. After that, from the

1980s onwards, *Zambian contemporary music* (*Zamrock* and *Kalindula*) was included on a small scale. However, in the same period Congolese rhumba³⁸ became more and more popular and as such it became the dominant music played at wedding receptions. The Congolese rhumba grew in popularity in Zambia partly because of the collapsing economy and deteriorating living and working conditions for the musicians (Stewart, 2000: 2) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (then Zaire), which forced them to migrate to *Zambian Towns* and cities where they sought employment in hotels and clubs. As indicated in Chapter Two, the publicity of rhumba music through the mass media, and the luck of having proper recording facilities in Zambia paved way for the inflow of Congolese recorded music which came into the country from Paris and Brussels. Among the Congolese musicians whose music was popular, and imitated by *Zambian bands*, at weddings were: Franco, Sam Mangwana, Tabu Ley Rochereau, Papa Wemba, Tshala Muana, Mbilya Bel, Wenge Musica, Xtra Musica, Emeneya, Koffi Olomide, Pepe Kale, Kanda Bongoman, Awilo Longomba, to mention but a few.

From the mid-1980s to the late 1990s there was a growing popularity of South African contemporary secular and gospel music, and this development triggered the inclusion of music by various artists from South Africa. Simushi (2007) points out that the popularity of music was somewhat seasonal or dependent on what was available on the market. Simushi continues that to a large extent the record distributing companies played an integral role in determining what sort of music people use for their wedding ceremonies and other social functions that required music performances. Even though live bands were favoured to perform music at wedding ceremonies, the groups contracted for such purposes usually play cover versions of the music that is popular at the time.

Despite the utilisation of live bands for music performances at wedding ceremonies, the trend of concentrating on foreign music did not change. However, from the year 2000 the trend was changing in favour of local *Zambian contemporary music*. The shift was following the general atmosphere in the country, which was determined by the mushrooming of music studios that made use of digital recording equipment (as pointed out in Chapter Two). The inconsistency in the popularity of music in the country in general, and also the disparities in individual preferences, are evident in the lack of one format for music pieces played at wedding

³⁸ In Zambia the Congolese rhumba is also commonly referred to as *ama bolingo* (*bolingo* music). The word *bolingo* comes from Lingala and it means 'love'.

receptions. In order to provide examples of music for weddings, popular songs from weddings attended and information from various primary sources, the following lists are divided according to different periods.

Table 6.26 Wedding reception music (1960s)

Title	Composer	Genre
Baby come back	Eddie grant	Pop
I feel good	James Brown	Soul
Yesterday	John Lennon and Paul McCartney	Pop
Love me tender	Elvis Presley	Soul
<i>Shalapo</i>	Alick Nkhata	Zam-beat
Lumumba	Franco	Congolese Rhumba
Aimatou	Franco	Congolese Rhumba

Table 6.27 Wedding reception music (1970s to 1980s)

Title	Author	Genre
Highlife	Wale Badarou	Highlife
Just like the first time	Freddie Jackson	Pop
The glow of love	Luther Vandros	pop
Endless Love	Lionel Richie and Diana Ross	Pop
Stuck on you	Lionel Richie	Pop
Money for nothing	Dire Straits	Pop
<i>Mamu</i>	Franco Lwambo	Congolese Rhumba
<i>Mario</i>	Franco Lwambo	Congolese Rhumba
<i>Misenge</i>	Pier Moutourie	Congolese Rhumba
<i>Loi</i>	Koffie Olomide	Congolese Rhumba
<i>Nzinzi</i>	Emeneya	Congolese Rhumba
You must culculer	Prince Ndedi Eyango	<i>Makossa</i>
<i>Poma</i>	Sam Fan Thomas	<i>Makossa</i>
<i>Awolowoh</i>	Meiway	<i>Mbalax</i>
Weekend special	Brenda Fassie	Bubblegum
Thank you Mr DJ	Yvonne Chaka Chaka	Bubblegum
<i>Umqombothi</i>	Yvonne Chaka Chaka	Bubblegum
<i>Mamase</i>	Caiphus Semenya	Bubblegum
Mr Dream Maker	Judy Boucher	Reggae
Dreaming of a little island	Judy Boucher	Reggae
Now that we found love	Third World	Reggae
<i>Umwana alelila bawishi</i>	Laban Kalunga	<i>Kalindula</i>
<i>Mukwenda mukunanga</i>	Mulemena Boys	<i>Kalindula</i>

Table 6.28 Wedding reception music (1990s to date)

Title	Author	Genre
<i>Shelela</i>	Hamooba	R&B
<i>Bisa Mutima</i>	Hamooba	R&B
<i>Nifuna oziba</i>	K'million	R&B
<i>Kakabalika</i>	K'million	R&B
Its alright	Exile	R&B
<i>Siku ya lelo</i>	Exile	R&B
<i>Makanika</i>	Third	<i>Kizomba</i>
<i>Siniza kutamangila</i>	Zam-Tribe	<i>Kizomba</i>
<i>Lesa fye umwine</i>	Ephraim	Gospel
Better TV	Danny Kaya	R&B
<i>Chocolat Chaud</i>	Koffi Olomide	Rhumba
<i>Sans commentaries</i>	Madilu System	Rhumba
<i>Tsivo</i>	Oliver Mutukudzi	Tuku music
Coming home	Lionel Richie	Ballad
Glow of love	Luther Vandross	Pop
Aint nothing like me	Joe	Pop
Konvicted	Akon	R&B
Vuthelani	Malaika	House

6.7.3a Performance of contemporary wedding music at the reception

Performance of music at the wedding reception could be divided into two categories as indicated in Chapter Three. The first category includes music that is performed for specific activities, as indicated below.

Entry and exit processions

These processions are performed by the bridal party, which usually includes the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga*, bride's maids, best men, flower girl(s) and page boy(s) and matron of honour. The couple selects a music piece(s) that the bridal party dances to when entering the reception venue (at the beginning of the celebrations) and when exiting the reception venue (at the end of the celebrations). The dance routine is carefully choreographed and rehearsed well before the wedding ceremony. According to Kalale (2006), some bridal parties spend close to two months preparing and rehearsing dance routines for the wedding. Kalale further points out that nowadays professional choreographers are engaged to train the bridal party members in what sort of dances they would perform at the wedding. The main dance styles

commonly performed at wedding receptions include contemporary dance steps involving two lines, one for the bride's maids and the other for the best men. These dances are often elaborate and involve intricate steps and movements. Furthermore, depending upon the size of the bridal party, the dance routines last close to ten or fifteen minutes. This means that if the music is being played from a CD or tape, it has to be lengthened or repeated for it to coincide with the duration of the dance. Likewise if the music is performed by a live band, then the band would play a piece until the whole dance routine is completed.

The common formations for entry and exit routine dance displays include two straight lines, one for the bride's maids and the other for the best men. The *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga* follow behind the two lines. At the entry point of the hall (in the case of indoor setup) or arena (in the case of outdoor setup) the two lines face forwards and dance in step one behind the other, but when they reach a selected central spot, the two lines increase the space between them and also face each other (the bride's maids facing the best men). At this point the dancers continue dancing in the same spot, while the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga* make their way between the two files. Once the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga* reach the high table, the bridal party will do free style dancing in pairs (a bride's maid with a best man). This means that a pair will firstly dance in the space in between the two lines and then continue until they reach the high table. This procedure is followed until all the pairs take their places at the high table. In the case of the exit procession, the reverse of the entry is done, where the procession begins with one pair followed by the other dancing from the high table until they reach the selected central spot. Again the bridal party dance in lines facing each other, leaving a space between the two lines. The *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga* then dance their way out through the space left for them to pass through. Again in pairs, one after the other, members of the bridal party dance their way out until they exit completely. During the time the bridal party perform their entry and exit dance routines, some family members from the audience any from time to time perform the act of *ukusebelela*³⁹ in appreciation of the displays.

The dance movements performed for the entry and exit processions vary from family to family, but there are those movements and patterns that have been identified to be common, especially the dance styles that are choreographed according to the genre of the accompanying music. From the interviews with informants and review of recorded wedding reception

³⁹ An act of moving in and out of the performance space by some members of the audience, while dancing and ululating, to encourage the main performers.

ceremonies, it is evident that Congolese rumba (secular or gospel music) has been prominent for accompanying dances for the entry and exit processions. The dances usually involve making short steps, wriggling of the pelvis in circular motion (with dancers shifting their weight to the left and right leg alternatively (Miya 2004: 129), wriggling of the pelvis in a circular motion while lowering the body by bending the legs at the knees, hip movement usually swaying from left to right or vice versa, arm movement (usually up and down, swaying from side to side or waving in the air). Different combinations of these dance movements are used to formulate dance routines for wedding processions. In some cases dances are drawn from those performed by Congolese rumba bands such as *Mutwashi*, *Ndombolo*, *Kwasakwasa*, *Madiaba*, *Sundama*, *Kirwanzenza*, *Pesa*, *Ningisa*, to mention but a few.

With regards to Congolese rumba performances, the music has fairly lengthy instrumental parts where most of the dancing occurs, known as the *sebene*.⁴⁰ Likewise, Zambian contemporary music played in Congolese rumba style has the *sebene* part, though in this case it is not referred to by the same term but as: *ingoma/ ulwimbo lwa teka* (the song has settled).⁴¹ However, despite the dominance of Congolese rumba dance style, which is collectively referred to as *Soukous* dance styles, other dance styles, especially those from Western pop, R&B and hip-hop, are also interwoven into the choreography for wedding processions. With regards to the rumba music, imitation of Zambian the pieces usually begin with an introductory part which is usually slow with a melodious vocal part and then develops into a fast groovy part, which usually consists of a lengthy instrumental part embellished by repeated chants and short melodic lines.

With reference to prominence in terms of popularity of style, in recent times *sinjonjo* music has been included in wedding ceremonies. From the findings of this study, in 10 out of 15 wedding recordings reviewed the song *Uyu mwana ubusuma* by Sahara Band was performed at these ceremonies. According to Chisanga (2008), the popularity of this song is evident in the high record sales recorded by Sounds Arcades shopping centre. The transcription of this song is presented below.

⁴⁰ According to Stewart (2000:29), the word *sebene* in Lingala means ‘dance’, but has been used as a term that describes the extended instrumental section of Congolese music.

⁴¹ The word *teka* in Bemba means ‘to put something down’. However, when used with reference to music it implies that the song/music has settled or stabilised and increased tempo to evoke dancing. When Bemba people are dancing, they usually comment that ‘*Nshafumye amasha mpaka ulwimbo luteke*’ (I will not dance my best until the song settles and increases in speed).

Figure 6.18 Transcription of the *sinjonjo* song *Uyumwana ubusuma*

Uyu mwana ubusuma

U - yu mwa - na u - bu - su - ma a - pa - la ba - nyi - na ee ee A - pa - la ba nyi - na ee ee
a - pa - la ba - nyi - na ee ee A - pa - la ba - nyi - na ee ee a - pa - la ba - nyi - na ee ee Mwi - la
fwa - li - la ma mi - ni mu - ma ta - nta Mwi - la fwa - li - la mami - ni mu - ma ta - nta Mwi - la fwa - li - la ma
mi ni mu - ma ta - nta Mwi - la fwa - li - la ma mi - ni mu - ma ta - nta E - pa - li wa - fu - la - mi - na wi - swe - nso - ni
sha - i - sa E - pa li wa - fu - la - mi - na wi swe - nso - ni sha - i - sa E - pa li wa - fu - la - mi - na wi swe - nso - ni
sha - i - sa E - pa li wa - fu - la - mi - na wi swe - nso - ni sha - i - sa Ta - wa ko - pwe i - ye - ee - e ma - yo Ta
wa - ko - pwe - i - ye ta - wa - ko - pwe Ta - wa - ko - pwe - i - ye - ee -
ee ma - yo Ta - wa - ko - pwe i - ye ta wa - ko pwe

Presentation of the knife for cutting the wedding cake: Before the wedding cake is cut, a selected child (usually a girl) of about eight to ten years old emerges from a given location within the audience and performs a dance to the spot where the wedding cake has been displayed and where the *nabwinga*, the *shibwinga* and the matron await her presentation of the knife to the matron. The presentation of the knife is accompanied by a specially selected music piece and this display is also thoroughly rehearsed, just like the routine dances for the entry and exit processions. The kind of music commonly used for such presentations includes Congolese rumba. The dance for the presentation of the wedding knife is choreographed by the child who is selected to do the presentation.

Cutting of the wedding cake (by the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga*): A specially selected piece of music is played as the couple cut the wedding cake and feed each other. After the couple have fed each other with a piece of cake, it is customary that they kiss (Mwale 1998). This part of the wedding reception does not involve dancing, but it is usually accompanied by slow and sentimental music. It is common practice that the wedding couple select a song that has lyrics that appeal to them and carry a love (romantic) message.

Taking the cake for preparation for serving to the guests (by bride's maids): After the cutting of the cake has been performed by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*, the rest of the cake is taken away, by the bride's maids from the display table to a designated room where it is cut into small pieces to be served to the guests. To do this the bride's maids make a single file, after collecting the cake, and perform a choreographed dance step as they take away the cakes. A specially selected music piece is played to accompany the dance step. Since the maids have to carry cakes as they dance, the movement is not rigorous and therefore the accompanying music has the same character (Kapotwe 2006). The usual practice has been to favour gospel music especially, that from South Africa.

Serving of the cake by nabwinga and shibwinga to their parents: The ceremony involves the wedding couple serving either a whole cake or pieces of cake to their parents. As this presentation proceeds, accompanying music is played in the background. Here also there is no dancing involved or any routine display. Therefore, there is no specific music required to be played, but the usual practice has been to play slow and soft music. The duration of this ceremony is rather short and as such the accompanying music piece is likewise cut to suit the activity.

Opening of the dance floor (by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*): At the point of opening of the dance floor by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*, a specially selected music piece is played for them to dance to. The common practice is for the couple to do ballroom dancing. From the wedding receptions attended and reviewed on video tapes, and information from various informants, opening of the floor is done in two versions. Firstly, the couple would dance on their own until the accompanying piece finishes or, secondly, the couple would dance on their own for a few minutes (round about two minutes) and then are joined by the bridal party, who perform a routine dance display. Depending upon the discretion of the bridal party, one or two music pieces would be used for such an arrangement of the performance. Once the displays have

ended the guests are free to come to the dance floor and dance. At this point the music played is entirely at the discretion of the DJ in charge of the music or the hired band in the case of a live presentation of music.

Presentation of gifts by the guests to the wedding couple: The presentation of gifts to the couple by the guests could be done in many different ways, but the common version is the bridal party remaining standing at the high table and then guest make a single file in front of them. One by one the guests shake hands to congratulate the members of the bridal party and then present the gift to the designated representative(s) positioned next to the high table. As this presentation is going on, different pieces of music are played by the DJ or band. This ceremony marks the end of the wedding reception, and people are so overwhelmed with excitement and joy that the music accompaniment is usually very lively and fast. Mwale (1998) points out that the exciting mood set by the music played for the presentation of gifts continues as the exit procession (described in Section 6.6.3a) follows.

After discussing contemporary music included in some *ubwinda* ceremonies, the kitchen party, church service, wedding reception and wedding aftermath, it became evident that the music was not randomly selected. Selected members of the wedding committee, mainly the couple and the matron of honour, give the matter careful consideration. The selection criteria for the music include the type of ceremony, ritual being performed and the period in which the wedding is being held. During committee meetings discussions are held to apportion music pieces to accompany certain rituals and ceremonies. For certain rituals the selection of music is based on the meaning of the lyrics of the piece, while for others it is basically the tempo and style required for certain kinds of dancing. For the kitchen party the gospel music pieces that are selected to be played in between rituals bear moral lessons based on the overall theme of the event (Kasongo 2006).

According to Mulumba (2007), the *nabwinda* selects songs that carry a preferred message that she would dedicate to the *shibwinda* and vice versa. These special pieces are then allocated to a given ritual at the wedding reception. In the case of pieces intended for dancing, the selection is mainly based on those that are popular at the time the wedding ceremony is being performed. This is the case because couples usually like to ensure that their guests enjoy themselves at their weddings (Lukonde 2007). Music for dancing is selected by the hired DJ.

6.8 Summary

This chapter has provided a description of wedding music of the Bemba-speaking people. The music is divided into two kinds, one being indigenous music and the other being contemporary and foreign music. Indigenous wedding music is based on *mfunkutu*. To a great extent *mfunkutu* songs and dances have continued to be the main vehicles of imparting marriage instructions. However, *mfunkutu* only plays a prominent role in surviving indigenous marriage ceremonies such as *ichilangamulilo*, *ukufunda umukashana*, *ukulasa imbusa* and *ukuluula* and *ukushikula*. Furthermore, it is evident that certain elements of *mfunkutu* performance have continued as they used be in pre-colonial times, while others have undergone change to suit the current lifestyle of the people in Lusaka and Zambia in general. Despite internal and external influences on Bemba society it is evident from the findings that:

- *Mfunkutu* songs have not undergone change;
- No Western musical instruments have been included in the overall performances;
- The repertoire of songs performed during marriage ceremonies has been reduced;⁴²
- The songs have been abridged;
- Tuning of the drums follow indigenous guidelines related to high, middle and low. Since no recordings of pre-colonial marriage *mfunkutu* songs are available, it is difficult to discuss tuning related to these songs and the change that could have occurred.

Local contemporary and foreign music have been incorporated into the white wedding ceremonies and have since taken a prominent role and a higher status than indigenous music. The relegation of *mfunkutu* to the periphery at wedding ceremonies has been the result of political, economic cultural and social changes within Zambian society. The changes in the social structure of Zambian society have been influenced by many factors, including Christianity, education and globalisation.

⁴² A core selection of these songs have been transcribed in Lumbwe 2004;

Chapter Seven

Continuity and change in the musical arts embedded in the *ubwinga* ceremonies: a theoretical framework

7.1 Introduction

Chapters Four to Six provide a comparison of the socio-cultural elements related to the musical arts components of *ubwinga* (Bemba wedding) ceremonies performed during the pre-colonial times and those performed during the post-independence period. The model of a set of *ubwinga* ceremonies that emerged from these chapters will be outlined in this chapter. While a researcher has the choice of situating the model within a selection of post-colonial theorists such as Spivak, Bhabha, Said and others, as has become fashionable in many recent ethnomusicological studies, the researcher has deliberately avoided this route by specifically contextualising the emergent model within Bemba philosophy, with reference to East and Central African philosophies.¹ While it is a historical fact that colonialism and Christianity impacted on the daily lives of people in Africa, in some cases disastrously so (Fanon 1963, 1986, 2000; Odinga 1967; Achebe 1969; Samkange 1973; Banana 1989; Kanduza 1992; Cabral 1998; Okonkwo 1998; Serequeberhan 1998; Bhebe 1999, 2004; Nkemnkia 1999; Biko 2000a, 200b; Senghor 2000), this chapter does not dwell on the past, but looks for ways to explain the hybrid model of *ubwinga*.

The first section of this chapter provides a brief explanation of the emergent model followed by a section to account for the model from a philosophical perspective. The chapter ends with an example of *ubwinga* performed in Johannesburg and presents a post-research fieldwork experience. This experience proved to be invaluable as a way to confirm the philosophical rationale provided for the hybrid model of *ubwinga*.

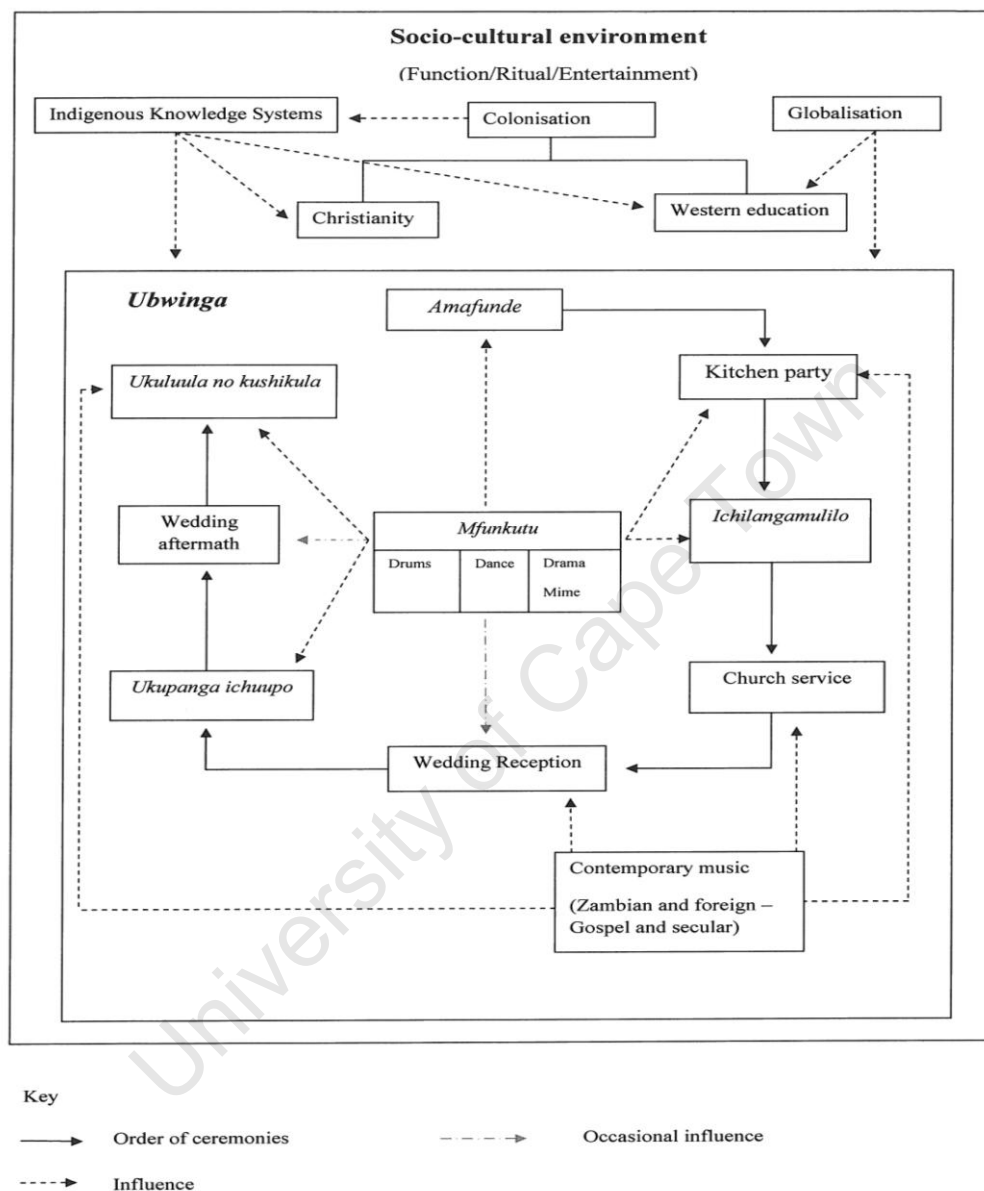
7.2 Emergent hybrid model of the *ubwinga* ceremonies

From this research it has emerged that the Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies have continued to be performed in eight stages from the pre-colonial era to date. However, some indigenous ceremonies have been retained, while others have been dropped. Simultaneously, elements from new Western 'White wedding' ceremonies have been included. The result of the combination of some indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies and those of the white wedding is the

¹ Although authors from other parts of Africa are also mentioned, this chapter focuses on philosophical ideas as described by various scholars on East and Central Africa.

hybrid model presented in Figure 7.1. Also portrayed in the diagram are the influential factors that contributed to the hybrid model.

Figure 7.1 The emergent hybrid *ubwinga* model



Although elements of *ubwinga* ceremonies have undergone change as a result of various factors such as socio-cultural and social contexts, this study reveals that *mfunkutu* has survived with only minor adjustments. Based on the evidence provided in Chapter Six, the following trends have been observed in relation to *mfunkutu*:

- The purpose of *mfunkutu* has remained that of communicating marriage instructions and Bemba social, cultural and moral values to those being initiated, namely the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga*;
- The instrumentation of *mfunkutu* remained unchanged, using three drums;
- *Mfunkutu* dance has been maintained unchanged for all the indigenous performances;
- *Mfunkutu* songs have not undergone change; it is speculated that this is mostly because no Western musical instruments have been included in the performance;
- The repertoire of indigenous songs performed during marriage ceremonies has decreased;
- Some of the indigenous songs have been abridged.

The emergent hybrid model of *ubwinga* shows the inclusion of new ceremonials and rituals such as the kitchen party, church service, wedding reception and wedding aftermath. Except for the kitchen party, where *mfunkutu* is also included, contemporary music,² instruments and dances play a prominent role in accompanying the included ceremonials.

According to Mtonga (1998), in *ubwinga* ceremonies *mfunkutu* extends beyond pedagogical functions, as it also links an individual with his/her mode of expression to that of the community. The mode of expression allows for critical analysis and review of the quality of musical, dance and dramatic performances. Critical comments that are not so technical are made with the intention of affirming, improving and recommitting, as opposed to undermining or discouraging, performers (Thompson 1974:3). Mtonga's and Thompson's views are drawn from the general principles or standards of value of the nature of beauty, which is a branch of philosophy known as aesthetics. Aesthetics 'deals with beauty or the beautiful especially in art and with taste, and standards of value in judging art' (Runes 1966:6; Welsh-Asante 1994:8). Onyewuenyi adds that it is necessary to understand that the conception of the nature of 'reality' or 'being' is dynamic and that 'African culture has its own standards of value in judging art; its own general principles in explaining the value of any work of art' (2000:396).

The inclusion of contemporary music and dance in *ubwinga* ceremonies is a result of what Welsh-Asante describes as a 'reconceptualisation of Afrocentric aesthetics which requires transmutation and synthesis' (1994:17). Welsh-Asante continues that 'reconceptualisation does not mean Westernisation even when the Afrocentric and Eurocentric aesthetic converge'

² Contemporary music refers to Zambian and different foreign genres such as gospel, *kalindula*, *rhumba*, *makossa*, pop, rock and reggae, among others.

(1994:17). In this case traditions of the past become history, while those of the present become 'edicts' (Welsh-Asante 1994:17).

However, the social context in which Bemba marriage ceremonies are performed has changed from the small homogenous rural setting of the pre-colonial era to that of the larger heterogeneous urban towns and cities of the colonial and post-independence eras. The changes in social context resulted in changes in:

- Available performing space, which has increased because of the types of venues used for the different ceremonies;
- An increase in the size of the audience, while at the same time a decrease in the size of the performing group. This is in contrast to the indigenous principle whereby all attendees used to take part in sections of *ubwinga* and would therefore be described as the 'performing group' (Ramose 2002:234);
- A decrease in the musical performance skills of some of the participants, which is the result of the inclusion of uninitiated people and also people from other ethnic groups in some of the ceremonials;
- Organisation and leading of proceedings during different ceremonials, which is either performed by a temporarily constituted team by specialist *bana chimbusa* or contracted permanent commercial 'companies' (*ifimbusa*).³

The changes in time, space and values outlined here relate to the flexibility of African aesthetic, which as custodian of traditions makes it able to 'absorb influences, progress and cultures as long as it is located and its development, including influences and amalgamation, is on its terms' (Welsh-Asante 1994:16).

With regards to the social-cultural, economic and political factors, the effects of colonisation, Christianisation, Western education and globalisation are seen in: (a) the shift from the indigenous governance systems that were based on control by the royal family to that of control by a national or local government; (b) the shift from indigenous belief systems to embrace other religious beliefs, especially Christianity and Islam;⁴ (c) the shift from indigenous subsistence farming, fishing and hunting to a money economy that is based on the development of industrialisation; (d) the shift from indigenous education systems to that of

³ The term *ifimbusa* denotes a combination of males (*ba shibukombe*) and females (*bana chimbusa*) that play different roles in the imparting of marriage instructions to the initiates. However, the term 'companies' has been used throughout this study as this is what they are commonly referred to by the people the researcher interviewed.

⁴ Nkrumah points out that in African society three segments – the traditional, the contemporary and the religious (Christian and Islam) – co-exist uneasily, although they often cause conflicts with one another in certain principles (1998:81).

‘formal’⁵ Western education; and (e) the tendency for the Zambian people to assimilate global trends socially, economically and culturally.

From studies conducted by researchers such as Mitchell (1958), Powdermaker (1962), Epstein (1978) and Matongo (1992), significant change in social context and its influence on the Bemba’s worldview could be summarised as follows:

⁵ The term ‘formal’ has been used here not because indigenous education is regarded as ‘informal’, but because it is the term generally used by people in Zambia to distinguish the two education systems (indigenous and Western education). The terminology used by the majority of Zambians could imply that informal has a lesser standing in comparison to formal, even though this is not the intended meaning.

Table 7.1 Socio-cultural change in the lifestyle of the Bemba in Lusaka and the Copperbelt⁶

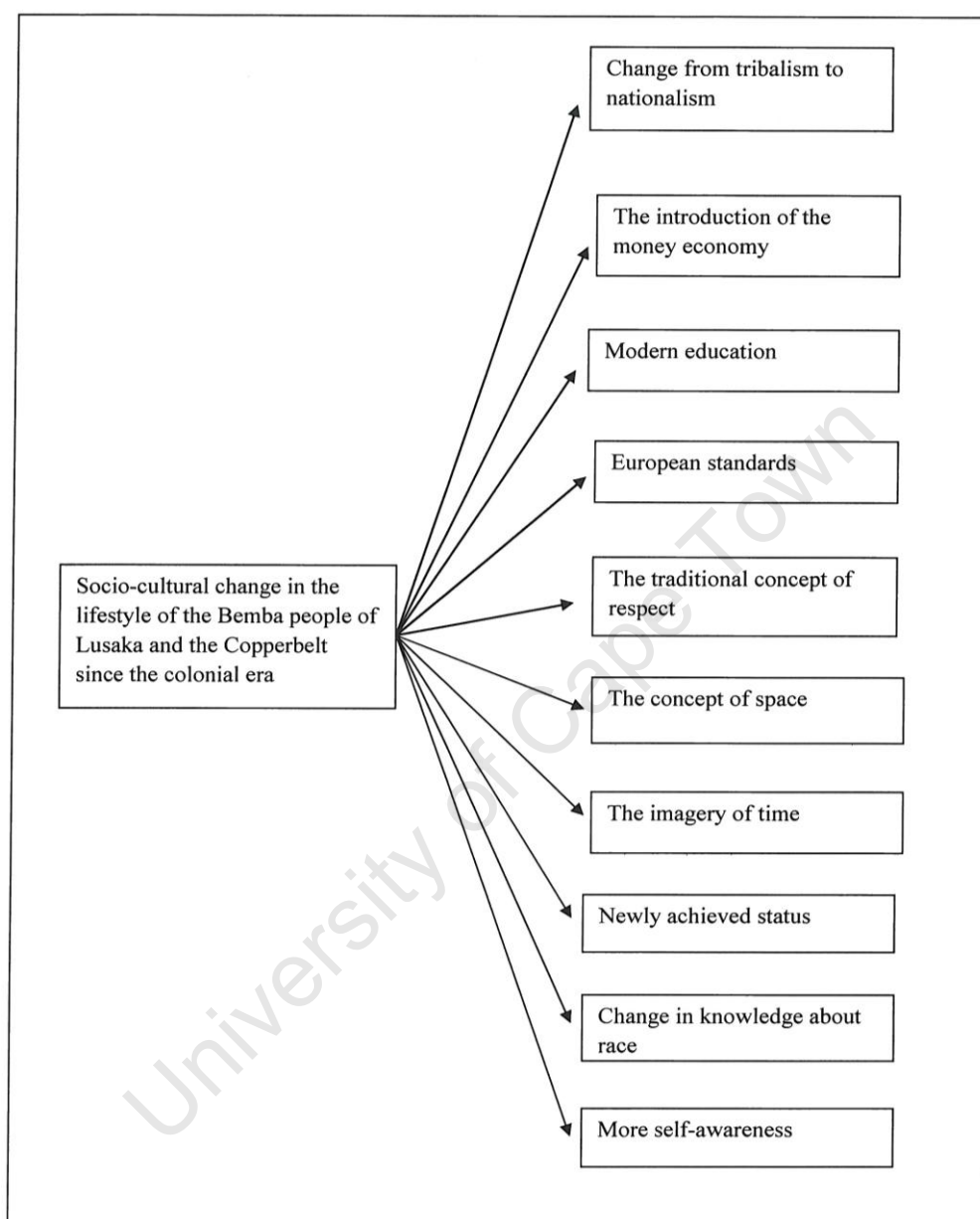


Table 7.1 indicates some of the major social-cultural, economic and political changes that confronted the Bemba when they migrated from the rural areas to urban centres. According to

⁶ The table was created by the researcher based on information from studies conducted by Mitchell (1956), Powdermaker (1962), Epstein (1978), Matongo (1992) and research participants Musumbulwa (1990), Chinyanta (2002) and Chasaya (2008) as these represent views and observations made during the colonial and the post-independence periods. Although some of the terms such as 'modern education', 'tribalism' and 'traditional' were used by research participants, they actually refer to 'Western education', 'ethnic' and 'indigenous' respectively.

Kapwepwe (1970:41), the change from separate ethnic governance systems to that of a nationally based system served as an important marker for the beginning of loss of respect for the elderly and those in leadership positions to fear for their status in society. Kapwepwe continues that, according to the Bemba view of leadership, it was endowed to a family lineage by a supernatural force (*Mulungu/Lesa*, God to the Bemba) and intercession by ancestral spirits. Bemba leaders (chiefs) were respected and revered by their subjects to such an extent that in their daily lives they had separate facilities and performed traditional activities apart from the rest of the community. In relation to *ubwinga*, Kapwepwe (1990:25) points out that the indigenous concept of respect has been distorted, because the control that parents and the elders in community had in the pre-colonial times has been taken over by the young couples who are being married.

With regards to geographical space, in Lusaka and the Copperbelt there has been a broad shift directly as a result of the amalgamation of cultures, and indirectly through new forms of communication, which include the print media, radio and television (Musumbulwa 1991). This increase in geographical space in urban areas resulted in a decrease of the population of rural areas, which included small clusters of homogeneous village groupings. In the new urban setting the agrarian Bemba have several occupational options to choose from among the new ones opening up in industry, in education and all other expanding areas of the changing society. The dependency on the cycle of nature has shifted to one based on the use of clocks, of work and vacations, and other such differentiated regularities (Chasaya 2008). The precision of time in relation to clocks influenced the indigenous Bemba time cycle to equally follow the new convention of time to such an extent that, instead of operating on estimated periods with reference to the cycle of the moon or any other natural cycles, their daily livelihood, cultural and ritual ceremonies have now been demarcated according to the new calendar (Kapwepwe 2007). Chasaya (2008) points out that, according to Bemba belief, *ubwinga* should not be held in the rainy season, as rain falling on someone's wedding day could be an indication that the couple will meet misfortune in their married life.

As discussed in Chapter Five, change in space also influenced ceremonies in terms of available floor space and moving of indoor ceremonies outdoors.

The money economy, introduced by the colonial masters in the late 1800s, gave rise to the transformation of indigenous communal goals of the extended kinship groups into more

personalised and individual-based family structures. The study area of Lusaka and the Copperbelt has continued to grow more and more inclined to adopt the 'modern' nuclear family system. New roles have been introduced for both men and women, although ties to the extended family and to the lineage have by and large remained, though in some instances they have continued to grow weaker and weaker (Chinyanta 2002). According to Kambole (2003), the implication of the introduction of money economy to the Bemba meant the shift from focus on the community to that of the individual. Loss of a sense of communalism has been pointed out in studies of other sub-Saharan African countries by Senghor (1964:93–94), Kenyatta (1965:297), Masolo (1994:48), Bell (1997:205), Nkrumah (1998:81), Biko (2000a:28), Gbadegesin (2000:292–304), Gyekye (2000:317–336), Kaphagawani (2000a:89), Kaphagawani (2000b:75), Ramose (2002:626) and Dompere (2006:149), among others. Kapwepwe (1970) adds that the shift from communalism has serious consequences for the Bemba as it has to some extent dislocated the spirit of togetherness which they believe is the foundation of their existence.⁷

From Chapter Three it is clear that the Bemba society of the pre-colonial era comprised social classes – the royal family, fishermen, farmers and hunters – *ubwinga* and other marriage ceremonies were organised and structured in the same way. However, the post-independence social classes, especially the *apamwamba* (elite) (Hinfelaar 2008:135), have a different bearing on *ubwinga* ceremonies. Mwesa (2007) points out that preference in terms of what to include and how to organise wedding ceremonies is to a great extent determined by factors such as one's status in society, the type of people s/he mingles with and even the social groups s/he belongs to. Furthermore, according to Mutale (2006), the young people in Zambia have created their own lifestyle, which has broken away from that of their grandparents and parents, and this is demonstrated in the style of dress, the way they speak,⁸ and their attitudes with regards to culture, values, customs and traditions. The difference in lifestyle of the young people and that of their grandparents in Zambia is seen, as Shaw (2000:40–42) points out, as a reflection of changing circumstances in the histories and political economies of the societies

⁷ Kaphagawani reiterates Kapwepwe's sentiment when he indicates that the Chewa of Malawi and Eastern Zambia believe that both individuality and social system are different, but mutually interdependent elements in the constitution of the world. This thought is expressed in the phrase: '*Wanthu ndi mchenga saundika*' (Human beings are like sand out of which one cannot make a mountain) (Kaphagawani 2000b:75).

⁸ Usually with a British accent, especially when it comes to speaking English and *ichikopabeluti* instead of *ichibemba nkonko*.

in which they respectively acquire status. This status refers to participate in both intellectual and ordinary value choices and institutional frameworks.

7.3 The hybrid *ubwina*: a philosophical perspective

Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Namdi Azikiwe (Nigeria), Leopold Senghor (Senegal), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Tom Mboya (Kenya), Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole (Zimbabwe) and Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) were among the Africans who not only led their countries to freedom from colonial rule, but also published books on political and philosophical issues. To these leaders the struggle for independence was based on revolutionary and activist philosophies that emphasised the collective efforts of the 'Black' people against the colonial masters ('White' people) (Macpherson 1974). However, the African leaders' political thought was rooted in what Kaphagawani summarised as 'African communalism [...] as a desirable alternative to the Western frame of individualism' (2000b:73). Kaphagawani continues that

Senghor and Nyerere became the best known exponents of the idea that African communalism can be seen as a form of humanism or, [...] as an antidote to the predatory Western evil. (Kaphagawani 2000b:73)

Although Kaunda has not been widely recognised as an exponent of 'African philosophy', some African philosophers such as Masolo, Chwukudieze and Imbo acknowledge his contribution when they point out that 'philosophy is African only if it is produced by Africans' (Hontondji 1976:9)⁹ and add that he built Zambian society based on development and distribution of national resources on the foundation of a 'humanism' 'that blended Christian principles with African kinship ideology' (Falola 2003:37). Falola's and Hontondji's views are supported by Mudimbe (1988:152), who acknowledges the existence and importance of 'traditional humanisms' as a form of interpretation of African tradition from within, a reflection of present-day African modernity and its contradictions, and signs and meanings of African authenticity. Mudimbe draws this view from early philosophers including Ba and Cardaire (1957), Kalanda (1967), Fu-Kiau (1969), Hama (1972), Fourche and Morlighem (1973), Kangafu (1973), Mbuze (1974) and Zahan (1979).¹⁰

Studies on African philosophy, communalism, socialism or humanism have drawn the attention of several anthropologists, philosophers and ethnomusicologists. These studies on

⁹ Hontondji's view has been debated among other philosophers, especially by Wiredu (1980:2–6), who acknowledges the contributions of Gilles (1980:16–30) and Parratt (1976:65–68).

¹⁰ I am grateful to Mr Alfred Sunsawila, a former teacher of French at Kabulonga Girls' High School in Lusaka Zambia, who translated sections of these works for me.

African philosophy have taken cognisance of the Bantu philosophy of *ubuntu* as the foundation on which post-independent African nations have been developed (Kagame 1956; Tempels 1959; Jahn 1961; Masolo 1994; Kaphagawani 2000b; Ramose 2002a, 2002b). *Ubuntu* as the root of African philosophy consists of the prefix *ubu* and the stem *ntu*. In this way the derived meaning evokes the idea of ‘existence’, ‘the state of being’ or ‘life force’, which are all processes (Kagame 1976; Samkange & Samkange 1980; Chikanda 1990; Bodunrin 1991; Wamba-Dia-Wamba 1991; Mbigi 1992; Shutte 1992; Teffo 1992; Makhuda 1993; Khoza 1994; Maphisa 1994; Mbigi & Maree 1995; Prinsloo 1996; Tempels 1998). The philosophy of *ubuntu* has been presented in various Bantu languages. The variations in interpretation are also prevalent among African philosophers, resulting in the emergence of the following classifications: ethnophilosophy, nationalistic-ideological philosophy and professional philosophy (Hunnings 1972; Gillies 1980; Wiredu 1980; Oruka 1983:36–45; Nzombe 1983; Okpewho 1990, 1992; Masolo 1994). The philosophy of *ubuntu* has also been discussed in relation to the musical arts in studies by musicologists such as Oehrle and Emeka (2003:39), Nzewi (2005:34) and Muller (2006:205, 241).

The Zambian nation was founded on the philosophy of ‘Humanism’ (Kaunda 1966 and 1968). According to Hinfelaar (2008:130) and Vaughan (1998:176), the philosophy of ‘Humanism’ was formulated by Kenneth Kaunda, the first President of the country.¹¹ Vaughan continues that Kaunda’s philosophy of ‘Humanism’ ‘was a mixture of Fabian socialism, nineteenth-century liberalism, Christian morality and idealisation of the communal values of Zambia’s pre-capitalist past’ (Vaughan 1998:176). In contrast, Kapwepwe (1970:61–86) indicates that ‘Zambian Humanism’ is deeply rooted in indigenous Bemba philosophy, while at the same time drawing some Christian elements.¹² This view is echoed by Kaunda (1973:16–19) when he points out that his personality and leadership were inspired by his experience as a child and

¹¹ Hinfelaar criticised Kaunda’s claims that his ideas were philosophical because, according to her, he did not have the appropriate qualifications to be called a philosopher. However, Kaunda’s idea of Humanism reflects to some extent indigenous Bemba philosophy and, without doubt, influenced the way that Zambians embraced ‘foreign’ elements not only between ethnic groups in Zambia, but also from outside Zambia.

¹² Some scholars have asserted that African indigenous life is modelled on religious and spiritual belief systems. Mbiti indicates that ‘Africans are notoriously religious, and each people has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible to isolate it’ (1970:1). In the same vein Busia (1967:1) adds that Africa’s cultural heritage is deeply rooted in religious beliefs such that in indigenous communities it is not possible to distinguish between religious and non-religious areas of life.

youth in Bembaland and also the urban setting of the colonial times.¹³ Kaunda adds that as a result of his experience, his governance system was based on a binary system that combined the Bemba indigenous system and the British system inherited from the colonial government (Kaunda 1962; Hall 1964; Legum 1966). Hinfelaar (2008:129) points out that after Kaunda, in the early 1990s, his successor Frederick Chiluba embraced Bemba philosophy and Christian values, which led to his declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Unlike Kaunda, who stressed togetherness/oneness and inclusivity (*ichima*), Chiluba emphasised the idea of *insaka* (dialogue, tolerance and unity).¹⁴ The idea of *insaka*, already discussed in Chapter Three, is different from that adopted by Chiluba. At a philosophical level *insaka* does not simply refer to the gathering of men and youths as they conducted their daily chores in the villages (as discussed in Chapter Three), but it is the manner and spirit in which socio-cultural issues were transacted amongst people with divergent views (Chitwansombo 2006).

The foundation of Zambian humanism is expressed in the Bemba saying: '*Ichima emufula wa buyantanshi*' (Togetherness, working together and corporate governance are the basis for development). According to the Bemba, *ichima* (togetherness) derives from their fundamental philosophical outlook expressed as '*Afrika muntu, abasungu bantu na bonse abashala bantu*' (Africa is a human being, the whites are human beings and the rest are also human beings) (Kapwepwe 1970:67).

Macpherson (1974: 384–423) recounts how Kaunda expressed *ubuntu* at a national level as 'man-centred society', meaning that in all areas of human endeavour human beings should come first. Kaunda's idea of togetherness was also shared by East African leaders such as Julius Nyerere and Jomo Kenyatta. These leaders also drew their national philosophies from their indigenous reasoning and social formations, which were expressed in terms such as *ujamaa*, in Tanzania and *Harambee* in Kenya (Dompere 2006:139–181). Dompere points out that these indigenous philosophies also embrace deeper reasoning in principles expressed in Swahili terms such as *umoja* (unity), *kujichangula* (self-determination), *ujimaa* (collective work and responsibility), *kuumba* (creativity) and *imani* (faith). In Zambian terms these principles are from the philosophical building blocks of *ichima* (togetherness) and are expressed in principles similar to those from East Africa; *ukwikatana pamo* (unity),

¹³ Kenneth Kaunda's parents were Malawian missionaries, but moved to Chinsali in Northern Zambia, which forms part of Bembaland. Kaunda was born here and grew up with Bemba traditions, while attending Lubwa mission school in Chindali.

¹⁴ Phiri (2003:401–428) points out that different factions occurred between Kaunda's inclusion of Eastern religions and Chiluba's Christianity.

ukuibikilishapo (self determination), *ukubombela pamo* (collective work and responsibility), and *ichichetekelo* (faith).

The adoption of the philosophy of inclusivity, *ichima*, had social-cultural implications for the different ethnic groups of Zambia. As shown in this study, the Bemba have assimilated some of the Western cultural values evident in the *ubwinga* ceremonies. The *ubwinga* ceremonies are performed by combining Bemba indigenous ceremonials and rituals with those adopted from Western and Christian ceremonials. The emergence of a combined model of the *ubwinga* ceremonies has also resulted in the utilisation of a combination of indigenous music and contemporary (both local and foreign) music. Furthermore, beyond the assimilation of contemporary ceremonial cultural elements such as food and attire, music and literature are also combined as a source of identity affirmation (Falola 2003:8–10). However, the existence of indigenous musical arts practices as well as contemporary music of the *ubwinga* ceremonies has created impediments on some of the rituals (Kapwepwe 1994). Such clashes are also noted in Ng'andu's study of Bemba *inshimi* (story-telling), where indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and school knowledge systems (SKS) operate separately and thereby tend to impact on each other (2009:122).

With regards to change in *ubwinga* ceremonies, Chasaya (2008) points out that Western scholars (for example, Whitely (1951), Richards (1956), Roberts (1973), Rasing (1995) and Hinfelaar (2008) have not understood the link between Bemba belief systems and the Zambian philosophy of humanism. Chasaya continues that the first post-independence government in the country relied heavily on indigenous principles and structures, especially those of the Bemba, evident in the inclusion of traditions and rituals in parliamentary ceremonials such as:

- The national President being accompanied by *ingomba* (Royal musicians) an act associated with that of the Bemba chiefs;
- The national President being smeared with *impemba* (white kaolin)¹⁵ at the beginning of every United National Independence Party (UNIP) convention;
- The inclusion of songs and dances during various parliamentary ceremonies and gatherings. Kenneth Kaunda communicated his intentions through a Nyanja song '*Tiyende pamodzi*' ('Let's go together'),¹⁶ which he sang at the beginning of every

¹⁵ *Impemba*, according to the Bemba, is a symbol of authority and connection with the brooding ancestral spirits that are responsible for protecting the living. The act of smearing *impemba* on a leader represents a request to the ancestors to guide and protect him as he executes his duties.

¹⁶ The song '*Tiyende pamodzi*' became known as the 'Kaunda song' because he sang it at every occasion.

occasion at which he officiated in his capacity as President and also in his personal and private life;

- The national government disregarded the British-style suits for men and adopted African and Zambian styles of dress (this included shirts styled from local *chitenge* fabric and/or the toga from West Africa). The men also had an option of wearing safari suits, which were commonly referred to as ‘Kaunda suits’.¹⁷ Outfits styled in African designs made from *chitenge* fabric were also adopted for the women. Furthermore, the women included head-gear commonly known as *ichiduku*.

Kapwepwe (2008) points out that the Zambian motto ‘One Zambia, one nation’ and the coat of arms were also formulated on basis of the philosophy of *ichima*.¹⁸ The most significant symbol on the coat of arms is the man and woman who represent the family and the beginning of human life. As shown in Chapter Three, the union of man and woman in marriage is significant to the Bemba lifecycle.

The connection between the Zambian humanism and Bemba *ichima* is that both philosophical systems encourage a spirit of togetherness. However, the implications of this togetherness is the perpetuation of change, as the coming together of different people with diverse cultures and experiences results in the creation of a contemporary society ‘that is toned down by each indigenous group revisioning its identity in the wider global cultural framework instead of locating rationality solely within its own context’ (Imbo 2002:31). Masolo (1994:194) adds that in such situations the result is a rejection of some belief systems and the modification of others, while yet others remain constant. Kashoki (2008) concurs with Masolo as he states that the Bemba understand that culture is not static and continues to undergo modifications to suit the relatively changing world. Kapwepwe (1970:134–135) concedes that the Bemba have continued to adopt some cultural practices from other people partly because of (a) a supposedly ‘superior culture’ imposed on them by colonisers; (b) experience acquired through travelling to other places in the world; and most importantly, (c) their philosophy of *ichima* (togetherness/inclusivity), which makes them view other people they interact with as part of their society. However, Kapwepwe (1994:35) adds that on both the micro and macro level of thinking a Bemba is expected to retain and uphold those cultural beliefs, morals and mores

¹⁷ The ‘Kaunda suit’ was made from Western fabrics, but instead of including a shirt and tie to go with it, a T-shirt was worn underneath it as well as a cravat. To an outsider Kaunda’s style dressing may not be viewed as significant, but according to Kapwepwe (2006), the Bemba value their leader’s regalia as it depicts their constitution. That is why for the Zambians Kaunda’s style of dressing is important as it bears a deep philosophical meaning and moral value. According to Kaunda (1962:72), his style of dressing symbolised the Zambian view against exploitative capitalist principles.

¹⁸ For a detailed illustration of the Zambian coat of arms refer to Appendix T

that define and distinguish them from the other people, while at the same time taking cognisance of other people's cultures.

From this study it has emerged that though a Bemba has the liberty to make choices with regards to marriage partners and the *ubwinga* format, certain elements such as *mfunkutu* have been maintained despite external influences. Kasonde (1953), Mushindo (1958), Musapu and Mpashi (1962), Kambole (1980) and Kapwepwe (1994) point out that the explanation of the survival of *mfunkutu* lies in the strong oral template which the people hold profoundly as they go on with their lives without being conscious of its existence.¹⁹ In addition p'Bitek proposes that the 'philosophy of life is not to be found in any books of philosophy, and the conceptual problems are to be tested out by daily living' (in Imbo 2002:37). Furthermore, group life and thought are conceived in relation to the whole group of people and not only to individuals (Imbo 2002:37). Among the Bemba the conception of the 'whole group' is depicted in the way *mfunkutu* is structured and performed. *Mfunkutu* allows for participation by all the people present at the ceremony whereby each member contributes and complements the other participants' input. As earlier stated in this chapter, *mfunkutu* is based on *ubuntu* philosophy, which in a musical context Nzewi has termed as the philosophy of space (Nzewi 2005:34). Nzewi indicates that in the African musical sense, during a performance when a performer introduces a silence, that silence is an opportunity for the other participants to contribute to the total creation.

By way of affirming the findings of this study, the researcher had the opportunity to attend wedding ceremonies performed for a Bemba couple living in Johannesburg (South Africa). The findings of this post-research experience are presented in the following section.

¹⁹ The subject of oral culture/literature is highly debatable, but it is not within the scope of this study to venture into this debate.

7.4 *Ubwinga* performed in Johannesburg: a post-research fieldwork experience

During the time I was compiling this research report I was privileged to attend *ubwinga* ceremonies performed by a Bemba couple (Mwansa Kabalika and Mwenya Mukonshi) living in Johannesburg, South Africa. I report on this wedding at this stage as the findings have helped to clear up some of the uncertainties and affirm certain results from this study. Though the couple reside in Johannesburg, they followed the Bemba indigenous *ukusonga* and *ukukobekela* (marriage proposal and betrothal), *amafunde* (marriage instructions) and *ichilangamulilo* (food offering ceremony), all which were performed in Zambia with the assistance of the parents. Because of certain constraints and other circumstances beyond the couple's control, they decided to hold their white wedding ceremonies in Johannesburg instead of Lusaka.

The indigenous ceremonies followed the *ichombela nganda* format, which is an abbreviated form of *ubwinga*, involving a small gathering of supporters. After the completion of the indigenous ceremonies in Luanshya (Copperbelt), the couple returned to Johannesburg and commenced preparations for their white wedding ceremonies. At this stage a wedding committee was put together to plan and make arrangements for the wedding. This committee comprised representatives from both families (the Kabalika family and the Mukonshi family) and the bridal party. In total 14 members constituted the wedding committee: *Nabwinga* and *shibwinga*, 3 bride's maids, 3 best-men, matron of honour, master of ceremonies, 2 representatives from *nabwinga*'s family and 2 representatives from *shibwinga*'s family.²⁰

From the composition of the committee it is clear that no sub-committees were formed as the couple felt that a single committee could handle all the arrangements effectively. The couple's parents were not involved or consulted during the preparations for the 'white wedding'. The musical arts embedded in the *ubwinga* and white wedding ceremonies were selected and performed in the same way as done for the Lusaka weddings (discussed in Chapter Four).

²⁰ To an outsider the composition of the wedding committee may not be significant, but according to Ilunga (2002) to the Bemba it is very important because members of the committee determine the nature of *ubwinga* ceremonies. Tinalesa (2008) adds that the Bemba are interested in knowing whether or not the parents and other elders from the family and community were involved or whether the wedding was merely organised by the couple and their friends. These views have already been discussed in Chapter Five.

It was interesting to note that the couple had made modifications to the post-independence wedding model that has emerged in this study. The kitchen party and church service were completely omitted, while the wedding reception and aftermath were combined into one ceremony, which they simply called ‘the reception’. The reception and aftermath were combined into one ceremony which lasted eight hours. According to Mukonshi (2009), the couple preferred to hold a combined function, because doing so enabled them to save on the cost of food and drinks for the guests. Furthermore, the couple wanted to have a ceremony that was different from the usual ones held in Lusaka. Kabalika (2009) adds that the couple’s idea of trying to be different is also reflected in the best-men’s attire, which was not the usual Western-style suit. Instead the best-men wore jeans trousers, canvas shoes, formal shirts, ties, jackets, and caps. The rest of the bridal party members wore similar attire to that worn at the Lusaka weddings (see Plate 7.1).

Plate 7.1 The Johannesburg wedding bridal party (© Lumbwe, 2009)



The church ceremony was omitted because, According to Kabalika (2009), the couple had changed denomination since they relocated to Johannesburg. The couple moved from the Roman Catholic to the Rhema Church, which is Pentecostal. At Rhema there was a clash of interests between the indigenous beliefs and those of church. However, the couple opted to have their marriage registered at the magistrate’s court at a ceremony which was held months before the wedding reception. The kitchen party was omitted, because the *nabwanga* felt that it was not necessary as she had already acquired enough kitchen utensils and therefore did not need anymore. *Ukuluula no kushikula* (undoing of taboos) ceremony was performed the day after the wedding, though it was really abbreviated. However, *ukupanga ichuupo*

(consummation of marriage) ceremony was not performed. The ceremony was omitted at the partly because the couple's parents were not present, and also because there were no *bana chimbusa* to conduct the rituals. This implies that preparation and financing was entirely in the hands of the couple without parental involvement.

The wedding reception was held on Saturday 2 May 2009 at a hired hall, and the proceedings were directed by the master of ceremonies. Before the bridal party arrived at the wedding venue, the guests were entertained by the DJ to a mixture of contemporary music from different parts of Africa. While this was happening, the bridal party went to a selected park for a photo shoot, after which they proceeded to the reception venue. Comparing my experience with wedding receptions performed in Lusaka and this one performed in Johannesburg, I noted that the bridal party arrived a couple of minutes later than the planned time. While chatting with the *nabwinga*, I established that it was customary for the bridal party to arrive late for the reception deliberately in order to create uncertainty and anxiety among their guests. Such a situation is favoured as it helps to increase the levels of excitement once the festivities begun (Kabalika 2009).

To mark the beginning of the reception the bridal party made a grand entry with two routine dances, accompanied by contemporary music. The first dance was accompanied by 'No one like you',²¹ a song by PSquare, a group from Nigeria, while the second dance was accompanied by 'Sana', a song by Kanda Bongo, man from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). After the bridal party had settled at the high table, the master of ceremonies invited Mr Fred Kangwa, who is a family friend, to open the ceremonies with a prayer. This was followed by the introduction of the bridal party. As this was going on, the guests were being served with drinks and refreshments.

After an interlude of music the master of ceremonies invited selected guests to present speeches, a representative from the *nabwinga's* family²² and a representative from the *shibwinga's* family. The chief best man was also invited to make a speech, after which the DJ played a couple of music selections. It was interesting that the music played by the DJ was

²¹ 'No one like you' is a wedding song and has associated choreographed contemporary dances performed in Nigeria. The bridal party copied one of the dances, which they performed at the wedding in Johannesburg. As for the song 'Sana', the group choreographed their own dance routines. In fact one of the best men was from DRC, so he contributed a lot more to the choreography.

²² I was requested to represent the *nabwinga's* family, because I was her teacher and mentor when she was at Helen Kaunda High School in Kitwe (Zambia).

specially selected by the couple and the pieces included numbers by popular contemporary musicians from Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi and South Africa. However, when it was time for the couple to cut the wedding cake and opening of the dance floor, the DJ changed the style of music to R&B performed by popular musicians from USA.

After a couple of music pieces were played by the DJ, the guests were invited to a buffet dinner, which was followed by the presentation of the gifts by the guests to the couple. At this point the DJ was free to play his own selections of music pieces. Zambian contemporary music dominated this section of the wedding reception. Upon inquiring from the DJ as to why he opted to play only Zambian music at this point of the wedding, he pointed out that he was carrying out the request of the couple, who wanted to demonstrate to their guests how proud they were to be Zambian (Manda 2009). Manda went on to say that being far away from Zambia and interacting with different people from other cultures of the world, it was gratifying when he heard music or even met someone from Zambia.

Dinner and presentation of gifts was followed by general dancing by all the people present. As the DJ played different pieces of music, the guests took to the dance floor as they pleased. At this point of the reception the master of ceremonies was no longer in control of the activities and instead the DJ took over. To my surprise both the *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga* actively participated in the general dancing so much that they were on the dance floor most of the time.²³ After three hours of dancing, at about midnight, the bridal party made a grand exit with routine dances accompanied by *rhumba* music from the DRC. The bridal party danced to the piece *Loi* by Koffi Olomide, a popular Congolese musician. The exit of the bridal party marked the end of the wedding party.

Ukuluula no kushikula was held the day after the wedding reception. Although *ukuluula no kushikula* is usually an outdoor activity, in this case it was held indoors at the matron's home. According to Kapompo (2009), the ceremony was not held outdoors for fear of disturbing the neighbours, who were not given prior notice. Mukonshi (2009) adds that being away from home where traditional and cultural practices such as this are well known and accepted by society, it is easy to conduct a ceremony without seeking permission from the neighbours.

²³ Besides the routine dances of the entry and exit processions, the couple are expected to sit and watch their guests dancing. However, some couples may opt to join in the dancing to a few songs, which could be two or three pieces out of 15.

However, this is not case in South Africa, where the ceremony is alien to the local people. However, conducting *ukuluula no ukushikula* ceremony indoors turned out to be convenient as the number of the people present was very small, and the living room was big enough to accommodate everybody. The ceremony was conducted as explained in Appendix L.

From the conversation I had with the couple I was informed that the initial plan for their wedding was to hold a very small party that would involve few friends and relatives living in Johannesburg (a total number of 50 people was projected). After the first committee meeting the number was increased, because the committee members requested that they be permitted to invite their friends as well. In the end the number increased to 150, although according to Zambian standards this is still a relatively small number. Because of the cost of transporting parents and relatives from Zambia to Johannesburg, the parents were not involved in the preparations for the wedding and also could not attend. The consolation for the absence of the parents at the wedding reception was that they participated in the indigenous ceremonies held in Zambia which, according to Kabalika (2009), were the most important ceremonials for their wedding. The value and importance attached to the indigenous ceremonials could be attributed to couple's experience living outside Zambia and interacting with people from different parts of the world. Mukonshi points out that 'in order for our friends from other parts of the world to respect and understand who we are as Zambians, we had to demonstrate our culture and traditions to them through our indigenous marriage ceremonies' (Mukonshi 2009).

Although the couple were very keen to hold the indigenous *ubwinda* ceremonies, they also had their concerns. This was made known to me before the *ukuluula no ukushikula* ceremony was held. From the discussion I had with the couple, I discovered that they had no idea of what to expect at the ceremony and that their ignorance frightened them. After explaining to them what was going to happen at the ceremony, they became more relaxed. After the ceremony their view was totally different. The couple was proud to have gone through the process and also for allowing their friends from other parts of Africa to experience their traditional and cultural practice together with them. In this case it appeared to be a means to showcase the Bemba traditions and culture to the people of Johannesburg. Furthermore, the selection of the master of ceremonies, who played the part of 'Big brother' in the Big brother reality show on MNet TV programme, was also a means to showcase the success of Zambians living in Johannesburg.

In conclusion, the ‘Johannesburg *ubwinga*’ provides further evidence and reinforcement of the philosophical values embedded in the hybrid *ubwinga* model. This wedding presents Bemba and Zambian national philosophical values at the following levels:

- (a) Collective work and responsibility – through which the Zambian community living in Johannesburg in conjunction with their relations in Zambia provided support for the couple to prepare and perform the wedding ceremonies. The organisation of this wedding entailed execution of various duties by committee members, friends and relatives in the spirit of oneness or togetherness (*ichima*) to ensure that the event was successful;
- (b) In the same spirit, unity (*ukwikatana pamo*) formed the foundation on which the couple together with their Zambian friends incorporated friends from other countries (Zimbabwe, South Africa, Swaziland, Mozambique and Denmark) to witness and celebrate the occasion with them without restricting it to fellow nationals only;
- (c) With regards to the couple’s commitment to the arrangements of their *ubwinga* ceremonies, they drew inspiration from self-determination (*ukuibikilishapo*) and having faith (*ichichetekelo*) in that collective effort with friends would yield desired results.

While the success of the Johannesburg *ubwinga* lay in the concerted effort made by the couple, their relatives and friends in South Africa, the spirit of tolerance and acceptance by their parents and relatives in Zambia also contributed greatly. The Bemba, as Mushindo pointed out:

Are aware of cross-fertilisation of ideas and cultures through past Bemba interaction with their neighbours, and that this process would continue to be refined and broadened. This temporal perspective is an important reflection on change (Mushindo cited in Kanduza 1992:131).

Mushindo’s view conforms with the Bemba worldview embedded in the axiom ‘*imiti ikula empanga*’ (the young trees will make the forest in future). That is why the emergent hybrid *ubwinga* model has been accepted by the Bemba. During the colonial era the Bemba viewed the hybrid *ubwinga* model as an imposition on their socio-cultural practices by the colonial and Christian values. However, in the post-independence times this is not the case, because people have freedom of choice and expression. In the same vein, the young Bemba are at liberty to exercise freedom of choice under the guidance of their parents and adults.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has outlined and discussed the emergent *ubwinga* model as presented in Chapters Four to Six, where the socio-cultural elements related to the musical arts components of

ubwinga (Bemba wedding) ceremonies performed during the pre-colonial times and those performed during the post-independence period have been compared. The emergent model has been situated within Bemba and Zambian national philosophy with reference to East and Central African philosophies. The socio-cultural change in the lifestyle of the Bemba people in Lusaka and the Copperbelt has been summarised, while at the same a link to the change in the socio-cultural and social context in which *ubwinga* and *mfunkutu* embedded in it are performed has been noted. By way of confirming the philosophical values of the hybrid *ubwinga* presented in this study, this Chapter ends with a presentation of Bemba *ubwinga* performed in Johannesburg (South Africa).

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Chapter Eight

Summary, conclusions and recommendations

8.1 Introduction

The focus of this study was to answer the primary question:

How did colonisation and globalisation impact on the existence and nature of the musical arts as a subset of IKS with specific reference to Zambian Bemba wedding ceremonies?

In order to answer the primary research question, this study investigated *ubwinga*, a subset of Bemba Indigenous Knowledge Systems. This involved a comparative study of pre-colonial and post-independence wedding ceremonies in Lusaka and Kitwe, Zambia. Data collection was based on qualitative research methods, employing participant observation and in-depth interviews, individual and focus groups with selected authorities on Bemba marriage customs and traditions, and with students from high schools and higher institutions of learning. The researcher attended 25 wedding ceremonies as a participant observer and recorded them on video in Lusaka and Kitwe. Data were also collected from published and unpublished literature. The data analysis was based on grounded theory, which involved transcription, categorisation and comparison in order to conclude with the emerging theory.

Wedding ceremonies were selected as a means to determine the existence and nature of musical arts, because among the Bemba they are the core of the instructional process and the transmission of culture, traditions and customs. Musical arts play an integral role in wedding ceremonies, which also extends to the daily activities of the Bemba people. Musical arts entrenched in Bemba wedding ceremonies exemplify the acculturated nature of the urban communities in the country. A significant finding of this study is the emergence of a hybrid *ubwinga* model, which has been contextualised within Bemba philosophy, with reference to East and Central African philosophies.

This final chapter is organised in three sections: the presentation of a summary of the findings, a conclusion, and recommendations for further research.

8.2 Summary of the findings

8.2.1 *Ubwinga* ceremonies of the pre-colonial era and the emergent hybrid model of the post-colonial era

This study has illustrated change in *ubwinga* (indigenous Bemba wedding ceremonies) in relation to the philosophical underpinnings of the musical arts embedded in them as well as with reference to socio-cultural aspects.

The study reveals that the Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies of the pre-colonial era were performed in eight stages:

- *Ukutwa ubwinga* (Lit. Pounding the wedding);
- *Ubwalwa bwa bwinga* (Lit. Beer for the wedding);
- *Ukupota ubwalwa* (Brewing the beer);
- *Ukuchilika musambi* (Waiting for the beer to ferment);
- *Ukutiya ubwinga* (Beginning of the wedding);
- *Ukuluula no kushikula* (Undoing of taboos);
- *Ukowa uluchelo* (Bathing in the morning);
- *Ukusulula ifitete* (Conclusion of the wedding).

It has also emerged that the ‘hybrid’ wedding ceremonies of the post-independence era are also performed in eight stages. However, the emergent hybrid model is an amalgamation of some of the Bemba indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies with those from Christian and contemporary ‘Whitewedding’ ceremonies. The emergent hybrid model includes the following ceremonies:

- *Amafunde* (Marriage instructions for the couple);
- Kitchen party;
- *Ichilangamulilo* (Food offering ceremony for *shibwinga*);
- Church ceremony;
- Wedding reception;
- *Ukupanga ichuupo* (Consummation of marriage);
- Wedding aftermath;
- *Ukuluula* and *ukushikula* (Undoing of taboos).

Hybridisation of Bemba *ubwinga* depicted by the emergent model illustrates continuity as well as changes in the socio-cultural setting of Bemba society. Furthermore, the philosophical underpinnings on which Zambian Humanism has been founded are based on indigenous Bemba philosophy and Christian values. The result of this is the philosophy of *ichima* (togetherness, tolerance, inclusivity and respect for all human beings). The foundation of the Bemba philosophy of *ichima* is the African philosophy of *ubuntu*. The idea of inclusivity and tolerance to a great extent offers an explanation of the merging of some of the Bemba indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies with some of the contemporary and Christian wedding ceremonies depicted in the emergent hybrid model.

This study has also identified that the national education system founded on the British system has greatly contributed to the changes and attitudes towards the Bemba indigenous customs and traditions. The education system is biased towards the Western value systems on which it has been based, mainly because IKS and school knowledge systems (SKS) exist independently of each other. This development has resulted in changes in socio-cultural and religious identities, because cultural values from other African and Western countries have been diffused into Bemba and Zambian identities. However, despite internal and external influences, and increased literacy and technology, it has been established that to some extent the Bemba cultural and religious identities entrenched in oral tradition have survived. Interviews with research participants reveal that those in the age range 13-19 and 19-27 years did not reveal an in-depth knowledge about indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies or even other Bemba customs and traditions. However, they registered an interest in identifying themselves as part of Bemba culture, traditions and customs, and would also like to participate actively.

From the emergent hybrid model of Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies it is evident that IKS (indigenous knowledge systems) still exist, but in an abridged form. It has also emerged that certain rituals, ceremonies and props have changed to suit the current socio-economic and socio-cultural environment.

8.2.2 Musical arts embedded in the Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies

The study reveals that marriage instructions are presented through the performance of *mfunkutu* music, dance and dramatisation or mime. Findings related to each of these categories are presented and the section closes with a discussion on the incorporation of contemporary music in wedding ceremonies. It has also been shown that changes have

occurred with regards to musical arts as well as the political, social, cultural and religious spheres.

From the analysis in Chapter Six it is evident that *mfunkutu* songs have the following performance characteristics:

- The songs are sung in antiphony (call and response), where a leader calls and the group responds in chorus;
- Melodies are usually sung with a descending stepwise motion starting from a high to a lower pitch level;
- The song texts are based on the Bemba tonality with rhythm and melodic contours connected to them;
- The songs are set in hexatonic and heptatonic scale systems;
- Some songs are accompanied by drumming (involving *sensele*, *ichibitiko* and *itumba* drums);
- Some songs are accompanied by hand-clapping only;
- Songs are harmonised by singing a similar melody at a different tone higher or lower;
- The solo and chorus phrases share the same text, i.e. literally or with minimal differences;
- Sometimes the text of the solo phrase is in the form of a question to which the chorus provides the answer;
- The text of the solo phrase is the beginning of an axiom or proverb phrase (*insoselo* and or *amapinda* – sayings and proverbs) to which the chorus phrase provides the logical completion;
- The text of the solo phrase provides instructions to do something, while the chorus phrase names the person to perform the task;
- The meaning of *mfunkutu* song texts can be interpreted in three ways: (a) literally; (b) metaphorically and/or symbolically within the context of marriage ceremonies; and (c) metaphorically within the transfer of ideas from one context to another, for example, from the marriage ceremony to general education.

Selection of *mfunkutu* songs for the *ubwinga* ceremonials lies in the hands of the *bana chimbusa* and supporting participants. The *nabwinga* and the *shibwinga* do not play any role in the selection of the songs.

The analysis of *mfunkutu* practice within Bemba marriage ceremonies has revealed that it derived its name from *mfunkutu* dance. *Mfunkutu* dance has the following performance characteristics:

- *Mfunkutu* dance is the main style employed in the different marriage ceremonies;
- There are no choreographed dance routines within *mfunkutu*. Instead free *mfunkutu* dance movements with their conventions are performed;

- The person dancing *mfunkutu* performs more or less on the same spot, but may gradually move a very minimal distance of about a few steps;
- When performing the *mfunkutu* the dancers usually tie a *chitenge* (a length of Zambian fabric) around their waist and hips to enhance the swivelling movements and also to help the dancer to focus mentally on the lower torso area;

Chapters Three to Six of the study explain the utilisation of dramatisation and mime as one of the main tools employed in the imparting of marriage instructions and emulating or symbolising expected behaviour patterns in adult social and married life. Scenes are either acted out with props, or mimed as a song is sung representing movement patterns which indicate the importance of social harmony and mutual co-operation in marriage. Scenes and actions are based on the texts of the songs and also the latent meanings they bear. Dramatisation and mime are used as pedagogical tools in Bemba marriage ceremonies and rituals, as these encompass music and dance whose content affects the initiates and audience: (a) internally as they are able to understand their inner selves; and (b) externally as they interact at an interpersonal level.

Chapter Six presents the function of contemporary music utilised in white wedding ceremonies, which extends beyond entertainment purposes. Contemporary music is drawn from local Zambian music, various African musics and Western musics. Some of the music pieces are selected for the message they carry in their lyrics. The message could be directed at either the *nabwinga* or the *shibwinda*. Such music is performed at specific rituals during the wedding ceremonies such as:

- Entry and exit procession (during the kitchen party and the wedding reception);
- Presentation of the knife to cut the cake (during the wedding reception);
- Cutting of the cake (during the wedding reception);
- Opening of the dance floor (during the wedding reception);
- Presentation of the gifts (during the kitchen party and wedding reception).

Selection of contemporary music performed at the above ceremonies is in the hands of the couple and the DJ playing the music. For specific rituals contemporary music is selected based on the lyrics, while for dancing purposes style and tempo are the criteria.

8.3 Recommendations

This study has identified that the knowledge systems IKS and SKS exist separately. The hybrid model of Bemba *ubwinda* reveals an amalgamation of wedding ceremonies, but also

indicates that the Bemba indigenous ceremonies are marginalised. Marginalisation of Bemba indigenous *ubwinga* ceremonies stems from the attitudes developed from the Eurocentric education system, which have not fully recognised indigenous education as an equal component. As such, the younger generation born and bred in the urban centres do not know their indigenous cultural practices, traditions and customs. Their lack of knowledge has resulted in their developing fears and uncertainties about participating in indigenous ceremonies, even though they expressed a keen interest to take part in these ceremonies.

The study makes the following recommendations:

- The main concern of this research has been to compare Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies of the pre-colonial era and the post-colonial era. Special reference has been made to the indigenous musical arts entrenched in Bemba wedding ceremonies. However, following the findings as outlined in this study, there is a need for integration of musical arts practices from various social sectors (IKS, schools, churches and commercial – media, recording studios and entertainment houses) and so render them relevant to the lives of the people of Zambia;
- There should be careful planning, liaison and dialogue between stakeholders within the different social sectors in order for the national arts practices to be better organised, sustainable and able to provide a source of livelihood for the people of the country;
- From the educational point of view, this research proposes that the Ministry of Education (MOE) through the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) provide a musical arts programme that embraces and promotes indigenous musical arts, while at the same time incorporating other types of music from different parts of the world;
- Considering that this research has not exhausted all studies involving IKS and contemporary Zambian music, similar projects could be undertaken to cover the other components that have not been fully researched in Zambia;
- In the light of technological advancement, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) should take a leading role in promoting indigenous musical arts through the provision of well researched and presented local traditional programmes both on radio and television;
- In order for the national musical arts to serve their intended purpose, which is communicating social issues and transmitting Zambian traditions and cultures, there has to be a form of organisation that would look into what kind of materials could be channelled for public consumption (a form of censorship board). In this case the Zambia National Arts Council (ZNAC), Zambia Union of Musicians (ZUM), Zambia Copyright Society (ZAMCOPS) and ZNBC should make a concerted effort to deal with matters concerning national musical arts practices;
- Further research into the indigenous music and musical instruments of musical arts practices in Zambia should be undertaken;
- Further investigation specifically on Bemba *ubwinga* ceremonies should also be undertaken.

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Appendix A

University of Cape Town

Appendix A

Permission Letters and interview consent forms

Letter to the Zambia National Arts Council

Ernst and Young
P.O. Box 32385
Lusaka
27th September 2005

The Chairperson
Zambia National Arts Council
P.O. Box 30029
Lusaka

Dear Miss Kapwepwe

RE: Permission to conduct qualitative research for Doctor of Philosophy Degree

With reference to the above-stated subject I hereby seek permission to conduct qualitative research in Lusaka and Kitwe. I am a registered postgraduate student at the South African College of Music of the University of Cape Town. The focus of my study is Ethnomusicology with specific reference to African musical arts. My supervisor is Prof. Anri Herbst (Deputy Director of the South African College of Music).

My research topic is: *Investigating the impact of the marginalization of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) on the musical arts in Lusaka (Zambia)*.¹ The study will involve interviewing specially selected members of the communities in Lusaka and Kitwe, and attending some of the Bemba wedding ceremonies. The interviews will be recorded on audiovisual equipment for purposes of transcription and analysis of data, and thereafter the tapes will be destroyed. Furthermore, the recordings will only be viewed by myself and my supervisor. Confidentiality of participants is assured and each participant will expect to sign a consent form before being interviewed.

¹ The title of the thesis changes since the initial research stages.

Apart from contributing to my research, the findings of this project could be valuable to future research on musical arts and their role in multicultural societies in Africa, and could serve as a guide for educational institutions on how to organise musical arts programmes to render them beneficial to their communities.

Yours faithfully

Kapambwe Lumbwe

(E-mail address: fwebaushi@yahoo.co.uk/ cell phone number: +2772 513 0168)

This proposal carries my approval.

Prof. Anri Herbst (Supervisor)

(Office number: +2721 650 2626/E-mail address: aherbst@protem.uct.ac.za)

Permission letter to school Head teachers and College principals

Ernst and Young
P.O. Box 32385
Lusaka

The Head teacher/Principal
..... High School/College
P.O. Box
Lusaka

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: Permission to conduct qualitative research for Doctor of Philosophy Degree

With reference to the above stated subject I hereby seek permission to conduct qualitative research in Lusaka and Kitwe. I am a registered postgraduate student at the South African College of Music of the University of Cape Town. The focus of my study is Ethnomusicology with specific reference to African musical arts. My supervisor is Prof. Anri Herbst (Deputy Director of the South African College of Music).

My research topic is: Investigating the impact of the marginalization of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) on the musical arts in Lusaka (Zambia). The interviews will be recorded on audiovisual equipment for purposes of transcription and analysis of data, and thereafter the tapes will be destroyed. Furthermore, the recordings will only be viewed by myself and my supervisor. Confidentiality of participants is assured and each participant will expect to sign a consent form before being interviewed. The type of research to be conducted will be Focus Group Interviews, which will involve three music learners per grade (grade 10–12). Should need arise, a second focus group interview may be required to follow-up and conclude the findings of the first interview. The research project will focus on investigating how colonization and globalization impacted on the existence and nature of the musical arts as a subset of IKS with reference to Bemba wedding ceremonies. I am interested on finding out young people's views on the matter and the extent to which these musical arts are important in their lives. The learners will be engaged in an informal discussion, in which the above topic will be explored. The interview(s) will last approximately an hour and a half. The time(s) best suited for the interview(s) will be as the school deems appropriate and will not interfere with the learners' school studies.

Apart from contributing to my research, the findings of this project could be valuable to future research on musical arts and their role in multicultural societies in Africa, and could serve as a guide for educational institutions on how to organise musical arts programmes to render them beneficial to their communities.

Yours faithfully,

Kapambwe Lumbwe

(E-mail address: fwebaushi@yahoo.co.uk/ cell phone number: +2772 513 0168)

This proposal carries my approval.

Prof. Anri Herbst (Supervisor)

(Office number: +2721 650 2626/E-mail address: aherbst@protem.uct.ac.za)

Ethical issues on research participation: Interview consent form

Kapambwe Lumbwe (LMBKAP001) has received approval from the University of Cape Town to undertake a research project entitled:

Investigating the impact of the marginalization of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) on the musical arts in Lusaka (Zambia)²

The information will be obtained by conducting Individual and/or Focus Group Interviews.

I will appreciate your willingness to participate. All information obtained will be kept confidential and no participant will be identified in the research report. You are at liberty to withdraw from this project at any stage should you not feel comfortable with the information we are requesting from you.

I.....have read the above and agree to participate in this study on understanding that:

- All information will be confidential
- I am free to withdraw at any stage without jeopardy to UCT or myself.

Signed.....

Date.....

This proposal carries my approval.

Prof. Anri Herbst (Supervisor)

(Office number: +2721 650 2626/E-mail address: aherbst@protem.uct.ac.za)

² The title of the thesis changes since the initial research stages.

Appendix B

University of Cape Town

Appendix B

Indigenous dances of Zambia

The discussion of indigenous dances is based on Brelsford's classification (Brelsford 1948:725).

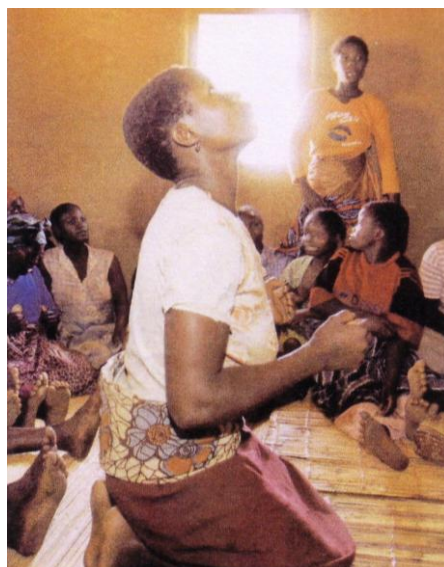
Pleasure dances: These are dances performed purely for pleasure under moonlight. Dances of this nature are performed just for fun, for instance, when welcoming visitors, at beer parties and many other occasions.

Plate B.1 *Chilumwalumwa* dance (Luapula Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:136)



Fertility and 'erotic' dances: These are dances that represent movements and actions which are associated with fertility rites. It should be noted that in most Zambian ethnic groups fertility dances are separate for males and females, as they are usually performed during initiation ceremonies. Muwowo (2005) points out that fertility dances also fall into the initiation dances category.

Plate B.2 *Ndendeule* dance (Eastern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:178)



Funeral dances: These are dances with a wide range of movements from simple to complex, expressing grief (following the death of a loved one).

Plate B.3 *Budima* dance (Tonga Southern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:20)



Religious dances: These are dances performed for purposes of worship and communication with deities and ancestral spirits. However, some funeral dances may be regarded as religious dances as well, since they involve worship and committal of the spirit of the deceased to the supernatural world.

Plate B.4 *Kalyaba* dance (Southern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:19)



Plate B.5 Rain dance (Thokaleya Southern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:18)



War dances: These dances are performed in commemoration of the experiences gained during times of war. Here the settings, forms and movements (including props and costumes) mimic battle scenarios.

Plate B.6 *Mutomboko* dance (Lunda of Luapula Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:139)



Plate B.7 *Ngoma* dance (Ngoni of Eastern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:214)



Hunting dances: These are dances performed in commemoration of experiences during hunting expeditions. Here the setting, form and movements (including props) mimic hunting scenarios.

Plate B.8 Hunting dance (Ila of Southern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:30)



Mask and pole dances: These dances, mainly found among the Lovale, Luchazi and Chokwe people of the North-Western province of Zambia, are performed on a cross piece between two poles, and the dancer does acrobatic stunts. The dancers wear elaborate masks and well decorated costumes, which cover the whole body, made of the bark of trees. Mask and pole dances are mainly performed at the circumcision ceremonies for the boys (Mkanda) and celebrations of the first fruit (*Likumbi lya Mize* – lit. Mize day).

Plate B.9 *Nyau* dance (Chewa of Eastern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:183)



Plate B.10 *Nyau* dance (Kapwepwe 2008a:188)

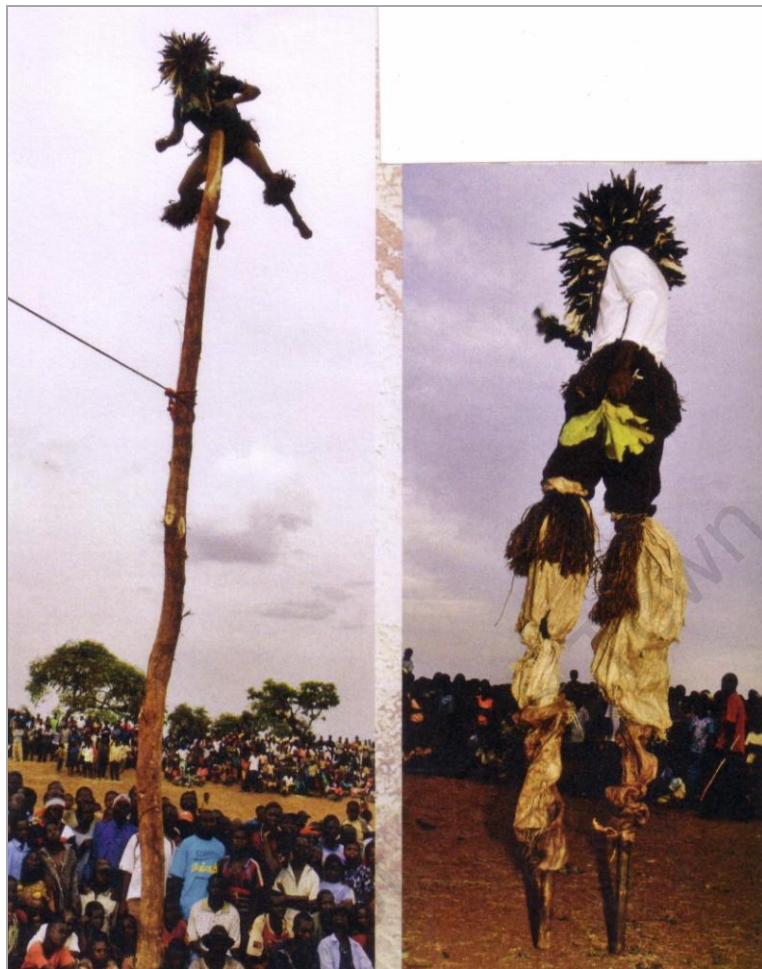


Plate B.11 *Makishi* dance (Luvale of North-western Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:82)



Plate B.12 *Makishi* dance (Luvala of North-western Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:83)



Within the ‘sub-class’ close dances, further categories could be demarcated in order to describe what may be termed solo exhibition dances within a group performance. The basic movements in close dances include: shuffling of feet, twitching of buttocks and wriggling. Other categories within the close dance ‘sub-class’ include the following.

Puberty rite dances: Two distinct types stand out as prominent: One where the initiate performs solo dances, and the other where the group of initiates performs group dances.

Plate B.13 *Mfunkutu* dance during *chisungu* (Bemba-speaking people of Northern and Central Provinces) (Kapwepwe 2008a:156)



Plate B.14 *Wali* dance (Luvale of North-western Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:71)



Plate B.15 *Ndendeule* dance during *Chinamwali* (Eastern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:178)

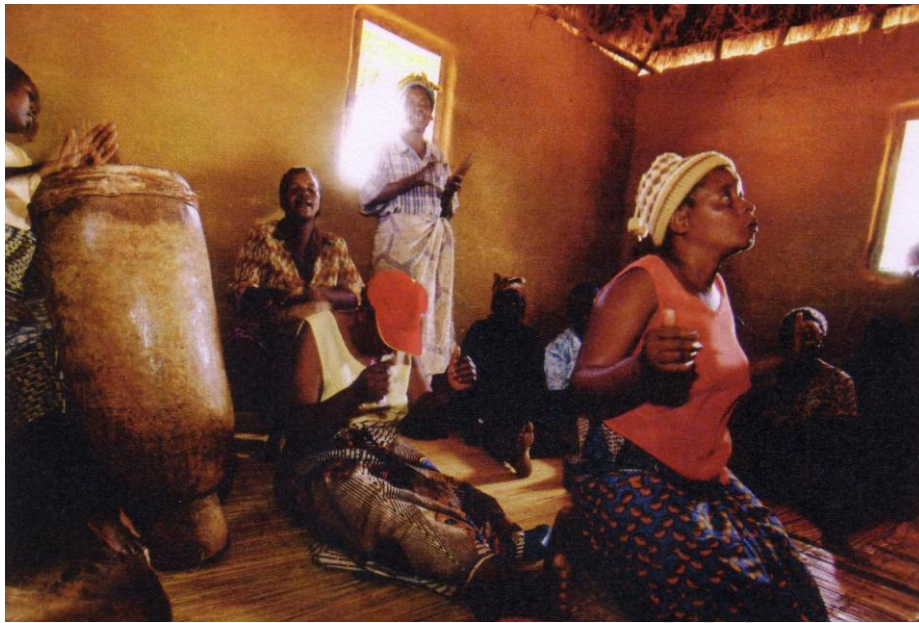
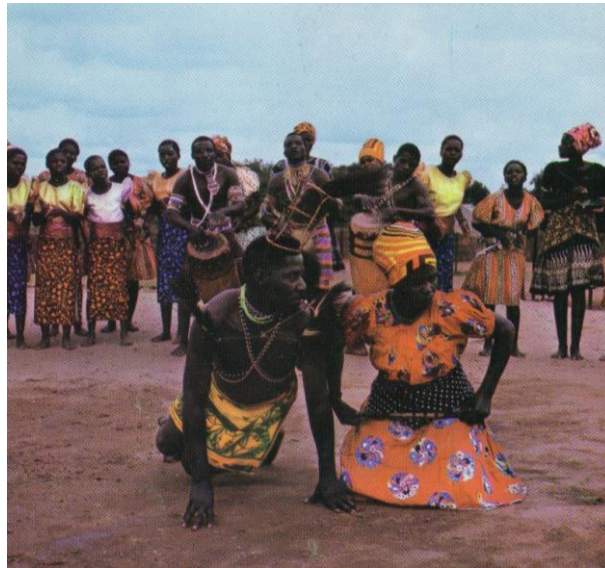


Plate B.16 *Lilombola* dance during *Mukanda* (Luvale of North-Western Province) (Mensah 1971:39)



Engagement dances: Among some ethnic groups dances are performed during betrothal to celebrate the occasion. These dances are mostly performed in groups.

Plate B.17 *Kayowe* dance (Lozi of Western Province) (Mensah 1971:28)



Birth dances: These are dances mainly performed after the birth of a child. In some ethnic groups they are only performed at the birth of a first child, while in others they are performed at the birth of every child.

Plate B.18 *Insimba* dance (Namwanga, Mabwe and Lungu people of Northern Province) (Kapwepwe 2008a:153)

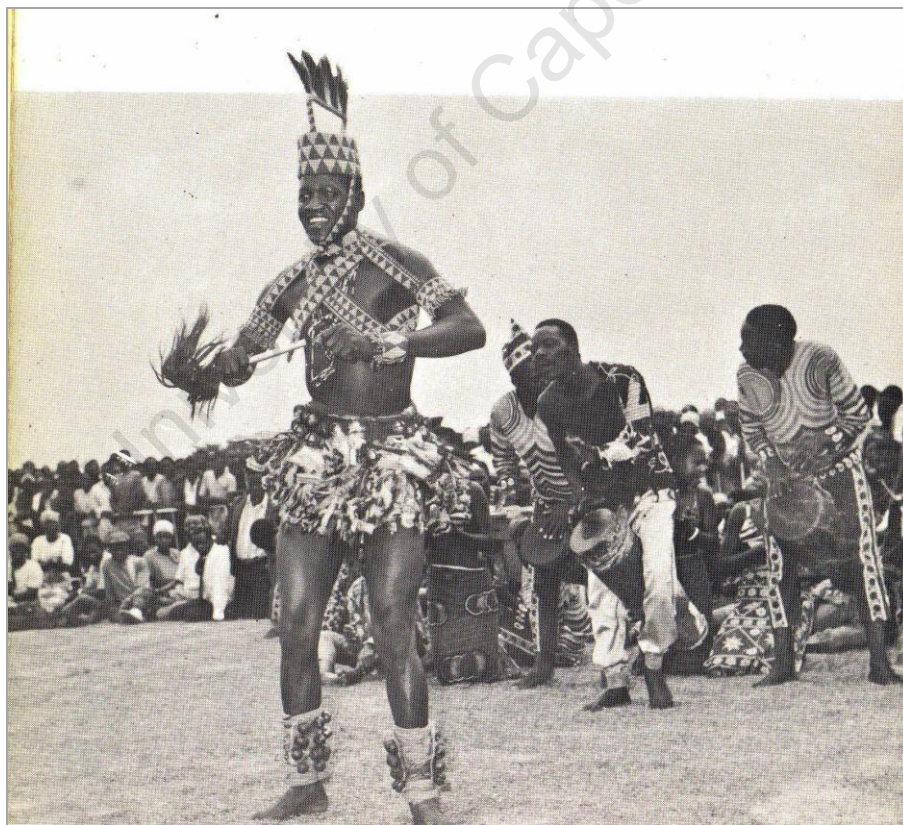


Brelsford describes a class of dances that are convulsive, with distorted and ‘ugly’ movements. The dances derive their movements from reactions of patients during divination

therapeutic sessions, which usually involve exorcism (Brelsford 1948:22). From this class of inharmonious dances two sub-classes could be derived: ‘pure convulsive dances’ and ‘weakened convulsive dances’.

Pure convulsive dances: People with diseases caused by possession of demons or evil spirits perform these dances, initially during divination sessions, and then upon the recovery of the patient the dances are performed for entertainment during festive celebrations. Mkandawire (1986) notes that possession dances, such as *vimbuza*¹ of the Tumbuka from the Eastern and Northern provinces cannot be performed by anyone; only those who have suffered from *vimbuza* can perform them. This is because a person is unconscious during divination. According to Mkandawire, learning the dance movements with the aid of the spirits is part of the therapeutic process. The dances are mainly performed by solo dancers, who are accompanied by supporting performers consisting of drummers and singers.

Plate B.19 A *vimbuza* dancer from the Eastern Province (Mensah 1971:34)



¹ ‘*Vimbuza*’ in Tumbuka means ‘spirits’.

Another sub-class within the class 'inharmonious dances' includes the following (Brelsford 1948; Muwowo 1987; Chanda 1988):

Weakened convulsive dances: Initially there is an overlap in terms of purpose and movements with the pure convulsive dances. However, in this sub-class the dancer maintains control of certain parts of the body, especially limbs, and the dance does not end in unconsciousness. The weakened convulsive dance sub-class could further be broken into 'ecstatic self-mutilation dances' and 'dislocation dances'.

Ecstatic self-mutilation dances: These dances involve solo performances accompanied by a group of singers and drummers. At the climax of the ecstasy the dancer may cut into his body using a knife until blood flows.

Dislocation dances: These dances involve wrenching and the unnatural twisting of the limbs. Performances could be done by solo dancers or in pairs, and also mixed in terms of gender. These dances could also 'overlap with the close dances of the in harmony with the body category since they usually involve but short steps' (Brelsford 1948:24).

Appendix C

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Appendix C

Indigenous musical instruments of Zambia

Idiophones: This class includes all those musical instruments that produce sounds without having any part of their bodies being stretched (Mensah 1971; Nketia 1974). Within the idiophone category two sub-categories need to be distinguished; those mainly used as rhythm instruments and those played as melodic instruments (Nketia 1974; Chanda 1989). Further subdivisions within the category of idiophones used as rhythm instruments are described below.

Shaken idiophones: This includes those that are held in the hand and those that are worn on the body of the performer (for instance, around the wrists, ankles and arms (Nketia 1974). In Zambia the most common shaken idiophones are those that are worn on the body of the performer (Chanda 1989).

Plate C.1 *Mangwanda* (Bells) worn by *Vimbuza* dancers from the Northern and Eastern Province (© Broughton Advertising 2006)



Struck/plucked and concussion idiophones: This category includes ‘a resonant slab of stone, metal or wood struck by a smaller piece of the same material’ (Nketia 1974:72), which could be single or multiple pieces. Furthermore, included here are two round or flat sticks, of the same size, which are struck together. The flat iron pieces tied to a wire and fixed to a frame, with or without a resonating calabash, and plucked with the fingers are very common idiophones found in most parts of Zambia (Chanda 1989).

Plate C.2 *Ichinkumbi* (Wooden slit drum) commonly found in Western, North-Western and Luapula Provinces of Zambia (© Kapwepwe 2008a:102)



Plate C.3 *Silimba* (Xylophone) commonly found in Western and North-Western Provinces (© Broughton Advertising 2006)



Plate C.4 *Mwimbi* or *Limba* (Single key xylophone) commonly found in Luapula, eastern and Northern Provinces (© Broughton Advertising 2006)

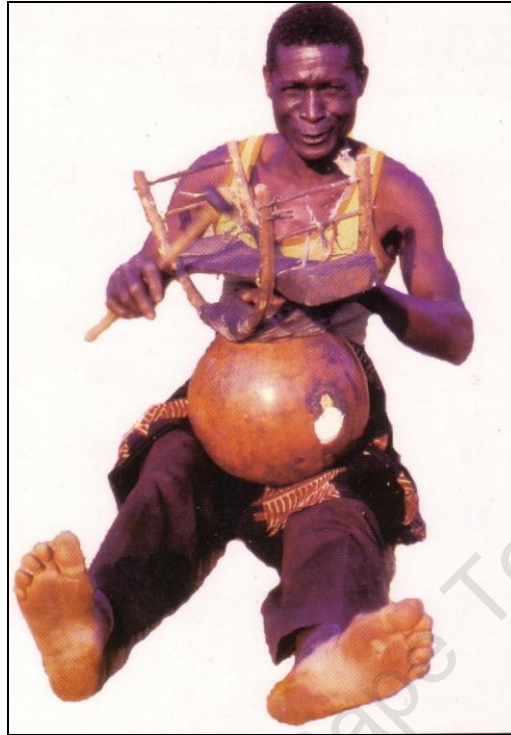


Plate C.5 *Likembe* or *Kalimba* (Lamellophone with resonator) commonly found in the Northern, Central, Eastern, Lusaka and North-Western Provinces (Broughton Advertising 2006)

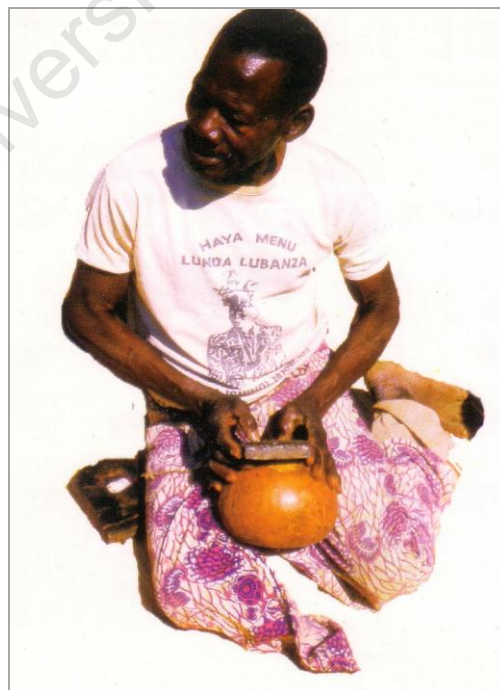


Plate C.6 *Likembe* (Lamellophone without resonator) (© Lumbwe 2008)



Scraped and friction idiophones: Though not widely used in Zambia, idiophones in this category, as the name suggests, include rasps and notched bamboo or palm stalks, which are scraped by means of a small thin piece of wood or metal.

The category of idiophones played as melodic instruments include those that can be tuned. 'The melodic type of [idiophones] consists of a graduated series of wooden or metal lamellae (strips) arranged on a flat sounding board and mounted on a resonator such as a box, gourd, or even a tin. The wooden lamellae may be made out of strips of the bark of raffia palm [...] while the metal keys may be made out of iron' (Nketia 1974:77).

Plate C.7 *Lindamba* (Rasp) made from a bamboo or palm tree branch, found in the Western Province (© Broughton Advertising 2006)



Plate C.8 *Vingwengwe* (stool and clay pot) commonly found in the Northern Province (© Broughton Advertising 2006)



Plate C.9 *Sense* (Grains on a winnowing basket) commonly played by women in the Eastern Province; the grains are rhythmically tossed in the air, and with a round motion they are shaken to produce a scraping sound (© Broughton Advertising 2006)



Membranophones: here are found all musical instruments that produce sound by means of striking a stretched skin or membrane. The most common source of membranes is from the skins of animals such as cows, goats and crocodiles. To this category belong all types of drums, which are produced in different shapes and sizes. The most common shapes include: conical, globular, hour-glass, vase and cylindrical. Some of the drums have a single head, while others have double heads. Some of these drums are played by striking the membrane with the bare hands or with sticks. However, friction drums are played by rubbing the hands against a string that is fixed to the membrane of the drum inside the wooden body (resonator).

Plate C.10 *Budima* (Funeral) drums commonly found in the Southern Province (© Broughton Advertising 2006)

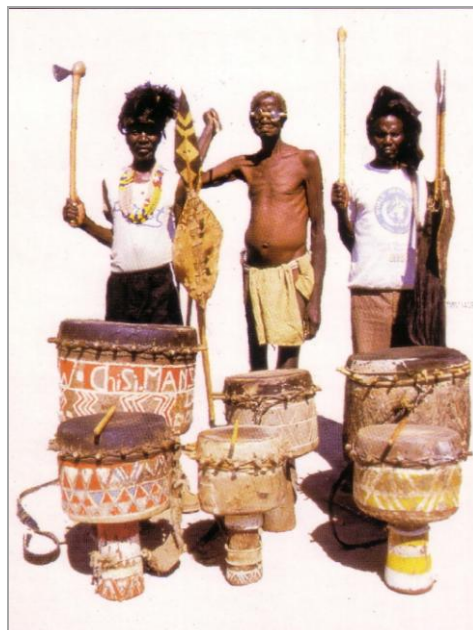


Plate C.11 *Ingoma* (Drums) commonly played in all the provinces of Zambia (© Lumbwe 2003)



Chordophones: Included in this category are all those musical instruments that produce sound by means of plucking, bowing or striking a stretched string. A variety of bows and zithers are represented in the chordophone category. In this category are found a variety of bows, zithers, lutes, lyres and harps (Nketia 1974; Chanda 1989).

Plate C.12 *Makunku* (Resonated bow) commonly found in the North-Western Province (played by girls during initiation) (© Broughton Advertising 2006)



Plate C.13 *Banjo* (Board Zither) commonly found in the Eastern Province (Mensah 1971)

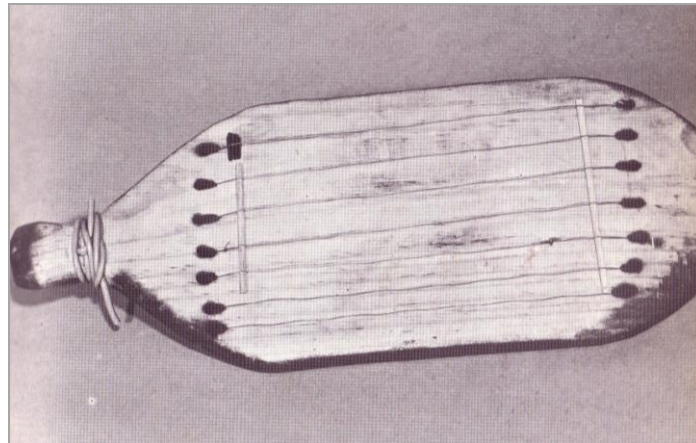
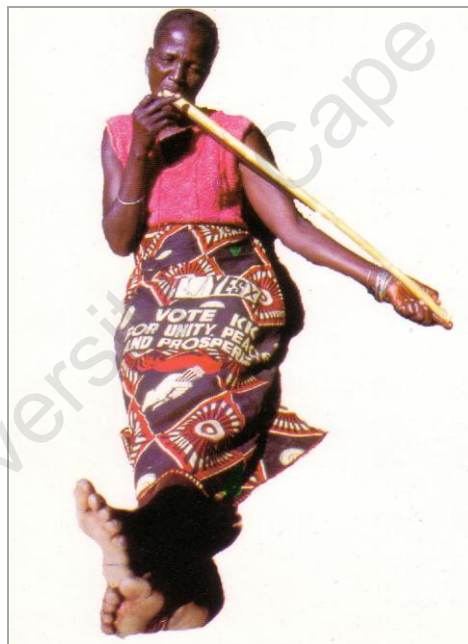


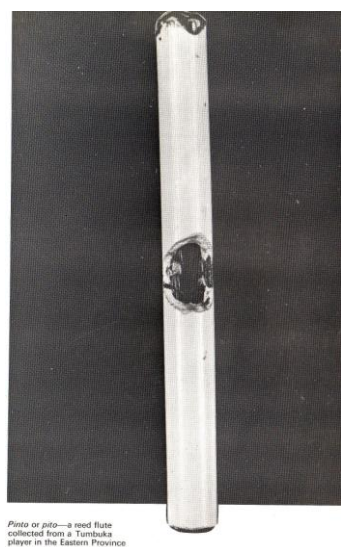
Plate C.14 *Kalukangala* (Mouth bow) commonly played in the Eastern Province (© Broughton Advertising 2006)



Aerophones: These are also a broadly represented category of musical instruments in Zambia, in which the vibration of air columns results from the player blowing air into or through the instrument. There are three sub-categories: firstly, the flute family with instruments mostly made ‘with a natural bore, such as bamboo, the husk of cane, the stalks of millet, or the tip of a horn or gourd; alternatively they may be carved out of wood’ (Nketia 1974:92). With regards to the playing techniques, Nketia (1974:92) points out that the flutes may be open-ended or stopped, and they could be played in vertical or transverse position,

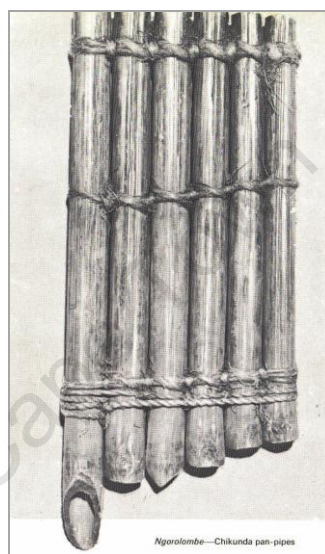
depending upon the type of design. Secondly, the reed pipe family consist of instruments that are usually made out of a stalk of millet. And thirdly, the horns and trumpets, which are usually designed to be blown at the side, are made out of animal horns, gourds, or pieces of bamboo stem.

Plate C.15 *Pinto* (Mensah 1971:31)



Pinto or *pito*—a reed flute collected from a Tumbuka player in the Eastern Province

Plate C.16 Ngorolombe (Mensa 1971:32)
Panpipes from Eastern Province)



Ngorolombe—Chikunda pan-pipes

Plate C.17 *Mweembo* (Horn - Southern Province) (Mensah 1971:32)

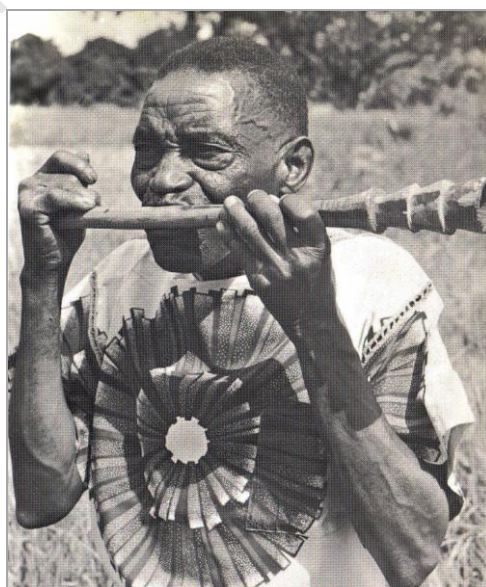


Table C.1 Some Zambian indigenous musical instruments (Jones 1940; Mensah 1971; Muwowo 1984; Chanda 1989)

Acoustic class of instruments	People and places
Idiophones	
(a) General	
<i>Silimba</i>	Lozi, Nkoya, Mbunda, Kwangwa, Totela, Nyengo (Western Province)
<i>Ichinkumbi</i>	Bemba, Lunda (Northern and Luapula Provinces)
<i>Umondo</i>	Bemba, Lunda (Northern and Luapula Provinces)
<i>Insombo</i>	Bemba (Northern Province)
<i>Mangwanda</i>	Tumbuka (Northern and Eastern Provinces)
(b) Lamellophones	
<i>Kalimba</i>	Bemba (Northern and Luapula Province) Nsenga (Eastern Province)
<i>Kankobele</i>	Tonga (Southern Province)
<i>Likembe</i>	Lozi (Western Province)
<i>Kandongo</i>	Tumbuka (Northern and Eastern Province)
Membranophones	
<i>Itumba</i>	Bemba, Lunda (Northern and Luapula Provinces)
<i>Sensele</i>	Bemba, Lunda (Northern and Luapula Provinces)
<i>Inshingili</i>	Bemba, Lunda (Northern and Luapula Provinces)
<i>Imangu</i>	Bemba (Northern Province)
<i>Maoma</i>	Lozi (Western Province)
<i>Namalwa</i>	Tonga (Southern Province)
<i>Mwaandu</i>	Ila (Southern Province)
<i>Fulama</i>	Lunda, Luvale (North-Western Province)
<i>Ndumbe</i>	Lozi (Western Province)
<i>Usindi</i>	Chikunda (Lusaka Province)
<i>Mbalule</i>	Chewa (Eastern Province)
Chordophones	
<i>Banjo</i>	Bemba, Nsenga, Chewa (Northern and Eastern Provinces)
<i>Dingindi</i>	Eastern Province
<i>Mtyangala</i>	Tumbuka (Eastern Province)
<i>Kalumbu</i>	Tonga, Ila, Chewa (Southern and Eastern provinces)
<i>Kaligo</i>	North-Western Province
Aerophones	
<i>Pinto</i>	Bemba, Nsenga, Chewa (Northern and Eastern Provinces)
<i>Mweembo</i>	Tonga (Southern Province)
<i>Nyeele</i>	Tonga (Southern Province)
<i>Ngorolombe</i>	Chikunda (Eastern Province)
<i>Chimpeta</i>	Bemba (Northern Province)

Appendix D

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Appendix D

Sounds Investments annual top 40 sales charts 2004-2009¹

Table D.1 Sounds Investment annual top 40 sales chart 1 (2004)

ANNUAL SOUNDS TOP 40			
For the Year:	2004	Commencing on: 3/28/2004	Ending on: 1/2/2005
Position	Artist's Full Names and Title of Recording		
1	GLORIOUS BAND GLORIOUS BAND - ILYASHI ILIKAYA		
2	WINSTON WINSTON - PENSULO		
3	CHISHALA PK - THE COLLECTION		
4	NYIRENDA ANGELA - MALO ABWINDO		
5	EXILE EXILE - SO LUCKY		
6	DANNY DANNY - YAKUMBULO		
7	JK JK - III		
8	NALU NALU - HOUSE, MONEY, CAR		
9	KMILLIAN KMILLIAN - KMILLIAN		
10	K'MILLIAN K'MILLIAN - MY MUSIC		
11	AMAYENGE AMAYENGE - DAILESI		
12	HOSSANA HOSSANA - LESA TUPEPA		
13	UNCLE REX UNCLE REX - FINGER SPEECH		
14	MUTENDE CULTURAL ENSEMBLE MUTENDE CULTURAL ENSEMBLE - OLD MUNIZOND		
15	MUNTU LEO - NAZALA		
16	NGOSA MATHEW - UMUTIMA WANDI		
17	BA CRAZY BA CRAZY - GOODNIGHT		
18	GLORIOUS BAND GLORIOUS BAND - ISAMBO LYAMFWA		
19	OLOMIDE KOFFI - MONDE ARABIC		
20	VARIOUS ARTISTS VARIOUS ARTISTS - THE NEW DAWN		
21	CHILALA BRIAN - MWALABA		
22	RED LINSO RED LINSO - RED LINSO		
23	VARIOUS ARTISTS VARIOUS ARTISTS - SOUNDS OF ZAMBIA VOL 2		
24	RICHEL LIONEL - JUST FOR YOU		
25	NAMANJE NAMANJE - IKA SPAKA		
26	MARLEY BOB - LEGEND		
27	LUMBANI MADODA LUMBANI MADODA - MULIBAKATAMI		
28	VARIOUS ARTISTS VARIOUS ARTISTS - SOUNDS OF ZAMBIA VOL 1		
29	VARIOUS ARTISTS VARIOUS ARTISTS - SOUNDS OF ZAMBIA VOL 3		
30	LUMBANI MADODA LUMBANI MADODA - NALUNTUTWE		
31	VARIOUS ARTISTS VARIOUS ARTISTS - SOLID GOLD I		
32	MWANGAZA JOJO - REJOICE RELAX		
33	BELIEVERS BELIEVERS - BORN AGAIN GOSPEL VOL 1		
34	GABRIELLE GABRIELLE - PLAY TO WIN		
35	LUMBANI MADODA LUMBANI MADODA - GOSPEL SAX		
36	TY 2 TY 2 - SMILE		
37	MADODA LUMBANI - GOSPEL SAX		
38	RUNELL RUNELL - FU TANK		
39	WINANS MARIO - HURT NO MORE		
40	MTUKUDZI OLIVER - TSIVO		

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¹ The owner of the company Sounds Investments made these charts available to the researcher.

Table D.2 Sounds Investment annual top 40 sales chart 2 (2006)

ANNUAL SOUNDS TOP 40			
For the Year:	2006	Commencing on: 1/1/2006	Ending on: 12/31/2006
Position	Artist's Full Names and Title of Recording		
1	K'MILLIAN K'MILLIAN - ANOTHER DAY		
2	NYIRENDA NATHAN - MWE MAKUFI YANDI		
3	NYIRENDA ANGELA - NGOMA		
4	EPHRAIM EPHRAIM - LIMO NDANAKA		
5	MWANGAZA JOJO - 4*4		
6	MULEMENA BOYS MULEMENA BOYS - THE BEST OF MULEMENA BOYS		
7	VARIOUS VARIOUS - ZAMBIANCE		
8	TY2 TY2 - TY2		
9	RUNNEL RUNNEL - UWAMUNOBE		
10	RICHE LIONEL - COMING HOME		
11	THE THIRD THE THIRD - NIFUNSAKO		
12	GLORIOUS BAND GLORIOUS BAND - KULA UMONE		
13	CHISHALA PK - THE COLLECTION		
14	PETERSEN PETERSEN - MUNYAULE		
15	MEIWAY MEIWAY - GOLGOTHA		
16	DANNY DANNY - KAYA		
17	MC CLURKIN DONNIE - PSALMS, HYMS		
18	JK JK - BALALOLELA		
19	NYIRENDA ANGELA - MALO ABWIND		
20	AMAYENGE AMAYENGE - MANGOMA KULILA		
21	OLOMIDE KOFFI - DANGER DE MORT		
22	TEMBO LILY - LILY TEMBO		
23	NGOSA MATHEW - SHAKAPANGA		
24	OZZY OZZY - GENERAL EYEZ		
25	MALAIKA MALAIKA - MALAIKA		
26	WERRASON WERRASON - TEMOIGNAGE		
27	NYIRONDO TOWERA - THE LORD'S DAY		
28	FACE BABY - GROWN & SEXY		
29	HAMOBA HAMOBA - SHELELA		
30	WILE WILE - BA MWISHO		
31	NE-YO NE-YO - IN MY OWN WORDS		
32	MOEN DON - GOD WILL MAKE WAY		
33	ZULU MAIKO - MAD PRESIDENT		
34	MALAIKA MALAIKA - VUTHELANI		
35	BELLAMY BROTHERS BELLAMY BROTHERS - BEST OF		
36	REX UNCLE - COMING HOME		
37	SHAKIRA SHAKIRA - ORAL FIXATION VOL 2		
38	JACKSON MICHEAL - ULTIMATE COLLECTION		
39	IPUPA FALLY - DROIT CHEMIN		
40	EXILE EXILE - SIKU YALELO		

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Table D.3 Sounds Investment annual top 40 sales chart 3 (2007)

ANNUAL SOUNDS TOP 40			
For the Year:	2007	Commencing on: 1/1/2007	Ending on: 12/30/2007
Position	Artist's Full Names and Title of Recording		
1	VISION OF AFRICA VISION OF AFRICA - VESSELS OF PRAISE		
2	DANNY DANNY - CHAMPION		
3	EPHRAIM EPHRAIM - LIMO NDANAKA		
4	OLOMIDE KOFFI - DANGER DE MORT		
5	HAMOBA HAMOBA - HAMZ WAY		
6	JIMMY JIMMY - OVER OVER		
7	MC CLURKIN DONNIE - PSALMS, HYMS		
8	RICHE LIONEL - COMING HOME		
9	VARIOUS VARIOUS - 100 ESSENTIAL LOVE		
10	MAMPI MAMPI - CHIMO NI CHIMO		
11	CHISHALA PK - THE COLLECTION		
12	NYIRENDA ANGELA - NGOMA		
13	MOZEGATER MOZEGATER - BAKALALILA		
14	NGOSA MATHEW - SHAKAPANGA		
15	SAKALA BROTHERS SAKALA BROTHERS - MASUKANI		
16	CHUMA ALICE - OKONDEWA		
17	RUNNEL RUNNEL - WALISHUKA		
18	JAH UNCLE - BUSHE NDINE GONGA		
19	MT SINAI MT SINAI - KATEBEBE		
20	MULEMENA BOYS MULEMENA BOYS - THE BEST OF MULEMENA BOYS		
21	MOEN DON - GOD WILL MAKE WAY		
22	RIHANNA RIHANNA - GOOD GIRL GONE BAD		
23	2 FOLD 2 FOLD - MUN' GOMA		
24	K'MILLIAN K'MILLIAN - ANOTHER DAY		
25	MULUSA MWESHI - EWAMFISHYA PANO		
26	AKON AKON - KONVICTED		
27	KNOWLES BEYONCE - B'DAY		
28	MT SINAI CHOIR MT SINAI CHOIR - MUNTUNGULULE		
29	R KELLY R KELLY - DOUBLE UP		
30	JOE JOE - AINT NOTHN LIKE ME		
31	MC CLURKIN DONNIE - PSALMS, HYMNS AND SPIRITUAL SONGS		
32	MWANGAZA JOJO - 4*4		
33	MALAIKA MALAIKA - VUTHELANI		
34	MAFIKIZOLO MAFIKIZOLO - HITS		
35	NYIRENDA NATHAN - MWE MAKUFI YANDI		
36	MC CLURKIN DONNIE - DONNIE MC CLURKIN		
37	MAFIKIZOLO MAFIKIZOLO - VAN TOEKA OF		
38	ADONAI SINGERS CHOIR ADONAI SINGERS CHOIR - KAFWA WANDI		
39	VANDROSS LUTHER - THE ULTIMATE		
40	JACKSON MICHEAL - ULTIMATE COLLECTION		

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Table D.4 Sounds Investment annual top 40 sales chart 4 (2008)

ANNUAL SOUNDS TOP 40	
For the Year:	2008 Commencing on: 12/31/2007 Ending on: 1/4/2009
Position	Artist's Full Names and Title of Recording
1	K'MILLIAN K'MILLIAN - TRUE COLOURS
2	SYSTEM MADILU - LA BONNE HUMEUR
3	CHIPOMA STAN - MWEO WANDI
4	CHITI JOHN - IFINDINGILE
5	2 FOLD 2 FOLD - MUN'GOMA
6	VISION OF AFRICA VISION OF AFRICA - VESSELS OF PRAISE
7	VARIOUS VARIOUS - 100 ESSENTIAL LOVE
8	VARIOUS VARIOUS - GENERATION YA FOYE VOL 3
9	K'MILLIAN K'MILLIAN - ANOTHER DAY
10	MOZEGATER MOZEGATER - BAKALALILA
11	MULUSA MWESHI - EWAMFISHYA PANO
12	ABBA ABBA - ABBA GOLD
13	NGOSA MATHEW - UMUTIMA WANDI
14	COLE KEYSIA - JUST LIKE YOU
15	KEYS ALICIA - AS I AM
16	OLOMIDE KOFFI - HITS
17	MAKOMA MAKOMA - NO JESUS NO LIFE
18	MOEN DON - GOD WILL MAKE WAY
19	CHISHALA PK - THE COLLECTION
20	MC CLURKIN DONNIE - PSALMS, HYMS & SPIRITUAL SONGS
21	VANDROSS LUTHER - THE ULTIMATE
22	VARIOUS VARIOUS - ALL ZED VOL 1
23	PETERSEN PETERSEN - BOBOJANI
24	OLOMIDE KOFFI - CHOCOLAT CHAUD
25	EPHRAIM EPHRAIM - LIMO NDANAKA
26	JK JK - NO PRESSURE
27	BLIGE MARYJ - GROWNING PAINS
28	SAKALA BROTHERS SAKALA BROTHERS - MASUKANI
29	BANA OK BANA OK - BULA NTULU
30	MARLEY BOB - LEGENDS DOUBLE CD
31	SYSTEM MADILU - SANS COMMENTAIRES
32	NGOSA MATHEW - SHAKAPANGA
33	MADILU & JOSKY MADILU & JOSKY - DESTIN
34	RIHANNA RIHANNA - GOOD GIRL GONE BAD
35	MT SINAI MT SINAI - KATEBEBE
36	DION CELINE - ALL THE WAY
37	NELLY NELLY - MORE THAN ABLE
38	HAMOBA HAMOBA - HAMZ WAY
39	JACKSON MICHEAL - ULTIMATE COLLECTION
40	BROOKS GARTH - ULTIMATE HITS
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Appendix E

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Appendix E

Wedding ceremonies in the pre-colonial era

Table E.1 Wedding ceremonies in the pre-colonial era

Ceremony	Place	Participants	Ritual(s)	Time
1. Ukutwa ubwinga (lit. pounding the wedding) 1.1 Preparation of <i>ubwalwa</i> for the various <i>ubwinga</i> ceremonies	<i>Nabwinga</i> 's ¹ parents' home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elderly women from the village <i>Nabwinga</i> 's father <i>Nabwinga</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Ukupaala ubwinga</i> (blessing the wedding) done by <i>nabwinga</i> 's father <i>Ukwaula akapundu kakusekelela ubwinga</i> (ululating to announce the beginning of <i>ubwinga</i> ceremonies) done by selected <i>nasenge</i> (paternal aunts) of the <i>nabwinga</i> <i>Ukupaala millet</i> (blessing the millet) for brewing the beer 	Day before <i>ukutwa ubwinga</i> ceremony
1.2 Preparation of <i>ubwalwa bwa bwinga</i> (beer for the wedding)	<i>Nabwinga</i> 's parents home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elderly women from the village Selected young girls from the village <i>Nabwinga</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presentation of millet for brewing the beer to <i>nabwinga</i> After presentation of millet, <i>nabwinga</i> is taken into seclusion at her grandmother's home where she is expected to stay until <i>ubwalwa bwa bwinga</i> is ready. Grinding millet for the beer: In a circle formation the women perform <i>insimba</i> dance while stamping on the millet with their feet (Lumbwe 2004:105-106). <i>Ukuposha ichishilu chakwa nabwinga</i> (getting rid of <i>nabwinga</i> 's madness): Conclusion of the grinding of millet performed by young girls who kneel in a circle and sing as they grind millet with pounding pestles. 	Day of <i>ukutwa ubwinga</i>
2. Ubwalwa bwa bwinga (beer for the wedding) Preparation of the maize meal porridge for brewing beer	<i>Nabwinga</i> 's parents' home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Specially selected women from the village (those with great experience and a good record in brewing beer) Selected young girl who has not attained puberty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The young girl is customarily asked to take a scoop of maize meal (<i>ubunga bwa nyanje</i>) and put it into the brewing pot, which already contains warm water. Then the elderly women make porridge which they let boil for some time. 	No specific period was prescribed, but the ceremony took place any day after <i>ukutwa ubwinga</i> when the amount of millet for brewing <i>ubwalwa</i> was sufficient to allow for large quantities of beer

Ceremony	Place	Participants	Ritual(s)	Time
<p>3. Ukupota ubwalwa (brewing the beer)</p> <p>Mixing maize meal porridge with millet</p>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents' home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specially selected women from the village (same as in 2 above) • Selected young girls (to assist in chores like fetching water and others) • <i>Nabwinga's</i> mother • <i>Nabwinga's nasenge</i> • <i>Bana Chimbusa</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mixing of maize meal porridge with <i>millet</i> is done customarily while singing and dancing • Collecting of <i>impemba</i> (white kaolin) for decorating <i>imbusa</i> is done by <i>nabwinga's</i> mother and few selected women who set out to the bush. The return is customarily done in procession, with <i>nabwinga's</i> mother covered in large piece of cloth while other women carry small tree branches which they swing over their heads, from right to left, as they walk back amidst ululating and jubilation • Preparation of <i>imbusa</i> and the <i>ukulasa imbusa</i> ceremony follow (Lumbwe, 2004: 79) • <i>Nabwinga's nasenge</i> customarily set out to collect different food stuff contributions from people from the community • <i>Nabwinga</i> bids farewell to her parents with the help of <i>nabwinga's nasenge</i> and young women who fetch her from her grandmother's home and taken to her parents' home in procession amidst singing and ululating (this ritual takes place in the evening) 	The early hours of the morning of the next day after <i>ubwalwa bwa bwinga</i> ceremony.
<p>4. Ukuchilika musambi (waiting for the beer to ferment).</p> <p>Customary visit, by selected women, to check how <i>nabwinga</i> spent the night at her parent's home after being fetched from her grandmother's home</p>	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents' home.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selected women from the village • <i>Nabwinga's</i> mother 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The visit is done with the traditional song which accompanies foot stamping, and pounding of pestles on the ground, an act that will only come to an end after a customary presentation of <i>akasupa ka bwalwa</i> (a calabash of beer) to the women by <i>nabwinga's</i> mother. 	The next day after <i>ukupota ubwalwa</i> ceremonies. It should be noted that <i>ubwalwa</i> takes a few days before it brews because, according to several informants consulted during fieldwork, this depends on various factors such as weather conditions, size of calabashes for fermentation, the type of beer being brewed, etc.

Ceremony	Place	Participants	Ritual(s)	Time
<p>5. Ukutiya ubwina (beginning of the wedding)</p> <p>5.1. Preparation of the first <i>mutondo</i> of <i>katubi</i> which is called <i>ichambulamemba</i>. (<i>mutondo</i> is a clay pot specially made to cool and store drinking water, while <i>katubi</i> is a type of traditional beer made from millet)</p>	<i>Nabwina</i> 's parents' home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selected women from the village <i>Nabwina</i>'s <i>nasenge</i> <i>Nabwina</i> <i>Shibwina</i>² (and party) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Customary removal of <i>ubulungu ubwabuuta</i>, which is tied around the neck of the <i>mutondo</i>, an activity involving singing and miming. Customary request of completion of marriage payments, by <i>shibwina</i>, from <i>nabwina</i>'s family 	Day after <i>ukuchilika musambi</i>
5.2. Amafunde (Marriage instructions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selected nearby bushes <i>Nabwina</i>'s parents' home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Nabwina</i> and <i>shibwina</i> <i>Bana chimbusa</i> <i>Shibukombe</i> and assistants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two parties are created and set out separately (<i>nabwina</i> with <i>bana chimbusa</i> and <i>shibwina</i> with <i>shibukombe</i> and assistants). Marriage instructions and lessons on different traditional medicines necessary for treatment of family members are customarily given <i>Nabwina</i> and <i>shibwina</i> are taken for shaving and bathing <i>Nabwina</i> and <i>shibwina</i> are displayed for public introduction 	Day following the beginning of <i>ukutiya ubwina</i>
<p>6. Ukuluula³ and ukushikula (undoing the taboos)</p> <p>Introduction of <i>nabwina</i> and <i>shibwina</i>'s families and further marriage instructions for the couple</p>	<i>Nabwina</i> 's parents' home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Nabwina</i> and <i>shibwina</i> <i>Nabwina</i>'s family members (including the extended family) <i>Shibwina</i>'s family members (including the extended family) <i>Shibukombe</i> and <i>bana chimbusa</i> Selected invited guests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Nabwina</i> and <i>shibwina</i> customarily receive further marriage instructions while at the same time both families, that of <i>nabwina</i> and that of <i>shibwina</i>, introduce themselves to each other (this activity takes place in the afternoon) Customary exchange of <i>imisukuso</i> (traditional toothbrushes made from a non-toxic twig chewed at one end to make a brush) by <i>nabwina</i> and <i>shibwina</i> – to symbolise the strengthening and exchange of fertility Before consummation of marriage, the couple are taken into seclusion where marriage instructions concerned with the functions of their reproductive organs and systems are given, followed by their first sexual intercourse. After this the main <i>ubwina</i> festivities begin (this activity takes place in the early hours of the night) 	Day following activities of section 5.2 above

Ceremony	Place	Participants	Ritual(s)	Time
<p>7. Ukowa uluchelo (bathing in the morning)</p> <p><i>Nabwinga</i> and <i>shibwinga</i> take an early morning bath in order to get rid of all <i>amshamo</i> (misfortune) that they may have accumulated from childhood</p>	Nearby stream or river	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nabwinga</i> and <i>shibwinga</i> • <i>Bana chimbusa</i> • <i>Shibukombe</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The throwing of some <i>muti</i> (traditional medicines) towards the source of the stream/river as the couple immerse themselves in the water, after which they take a bath • After <i>ukowa</i>, <i>nabwinga</i>'s <i>nasenge</i> prepare <i>ubwali</i>⁴ (maize meal thick mash) for the couple, which is done customarily by the couple placing <i>inongo ya chuupo</i> (marriage clay pot) on the fire before <i>nasenge</i> prepares the food. 	Day after <i>ukuluula</i> and <i>ukushikula</i>
<p>8. Ukusulula ifitete (conclusion of the wedding ceremonies)</p> <p>Recapitulation of some of the most important issues that are taught during marriage instructions and the different ceremonies of the marriage rites</p>	<i>Nabwinga</i> 's parents' home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nabwinga</i> and <i>shibwinga</i> • Selected elderly relatives from both families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The whole event is done in the form of a question and answer discussion with questions being posed to the couple by a specially appointed elder. The couple are expected to interpret <i>imilumbe</i>, <i>amapinda</i> and <i>imishikakulo</i> (The event lasts a full day) 	Day after activities in section 7 above

Sources: (Books and dissertations) Labrecque, 1931: 47 – 50; Kambole, 1980: 61 – 101; Lumbwe, 2004: 103 – 119
(Personal interviews) Ilunga, 2002; Fulanshi, 2003; Kapwepwe, 2003; Mukolongo, 1996; Mutale, 2006.

- ¹ *Nabwinga* (lit. mother of the wedding) is the title young woman acquires after being betrothed. The title is maintained until after the *ubwinga* ceremonies are completed. In the Western sense the equivalence is „Bride’.
- ² *Shibwinga* (lit. father of the wedding) is the title a young man acquires after betrothal to a young woman. The title is maintained until after the *ubwinga* ceremonies are completed. In the Western sense the equivalent is „groom’. After *ubwinga* he assumes the title *Lumbwe*, which in this case means husband, though the idea is drawn from „consort of a queen’.
- ³ It should be noted that if this word is pronounced without stressing the „u’ sound as indicated by doubling it, the meaning of the word changes to “bitter taste”. In the same way if the sound ‘i’ in the word *ukushikula* is stressed the meaning of the word changes to mean “uncovering something that is buried”. Otherwise the word *ukuluula* refers to the commentaries made for the purposes of marriage instruction, while *ukushikula* refers to the act of giving a token gift of money for the purpose of undoing a taboo or taboos.
- ⁴ It should be noted that in Bemba terms such as *ubwali* cannot be translated into English as „maize meal thick porridge’, because in Bemba porridge is *umusunga* and in liquid form (which could be light or thick, and the Bemba say *ukunwa umusunga* – to drink porridge and not *ukulya umusunga* – to eat porridge). Therefore, the closest translation for *ubwali* is thick mash. Kambole (2003) points out that the description of *ubwali* as thick porridge came from early Western anthropologists and researchers who liked to generalise about Africa.

Appendix F

University of Cape Town

Appendix F

Examples of Bemba children's games

On a social level games (*ifisela/ifyangalo*) as part of the Bemba IKS play an integral role in the handing down of socio-cultural values, morals, traditions and customs. Through participation in different games, a person develops psychomotor and psychosocial values, which include:

- Well-coordinated basic motor skills of movement of different body parts;
- Intellectual development in relation to critical thinking, developing sound judgement, making informed decisions, development of leadership skills, development of a sense of self-esteem and confidence, development of a good sense of team work and spirit to share with other people, etc.
- Learning to accept defeat and control anger after losing a game (emotional stability).

Some of the games such as *chityatya*, *mulambilwa* and *nsengwnsengwa*, to mention but a few, have since disappeared and are just talked about in stories, while others such as *chidunu* and *widaa* have been incorporated into Bemba IKS within urban communities. Furthermore, although most games were and are still played by children, there were others that were intended for adults, for instance, *chibale* and *isolo*. Only a few of a large corpus of Bemba games has been covered in this study to serve as examples. Through these games continuity and change in Bemba sociocultural life can be traced through the maintenance or loss of some elements of the stylistic traits of games, equipment or songs within the games played in Bemba communities.

In Mbewe, Banda, Mukupa, Chisefu, Lumbwe, Haamaundu and Milapo (1993) and Chileshe (2004) indigenous children's games have been incorporated into the mainstream national education system through utilising them in the campaign against HIV/AIDS, drug and alcohol abuse, and the violation of children's rights. To achieve the objectives of this campaign Mbewe *et al.* (1993) reported that schools under the ZCCM Medical and Education Trust produced a primary school music syllabus that consisted predominantly of indigenous children's games and game songs for use in the teaching of music, which was also integrated into other school subjects such as Language (English and Zambian languages, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies). Likewise, the Sport in Action (SIA) organisation developed a sports programme that has incorporated indigenous and contemporary games. It has been able to produce teaching resources that involve reinterpretation of indigenous and contemporary

game song lyrics to include themes that address community issues in order to promote good morals, good behaviour, life skills and a sense of responsibility among the youth.

In both cases, that of ZCCM schools and that of SIA, the games and accompanying songs have been modified to suit the different programmes they are intended to reinforce. In order to satisfy this requirement, concepts from among the different ethnic groups in Zambia have been interwoven to produce games that are general and not specific to one group. As Kapotwe (2007) points out, in most cases the language used in the adapted versions of children's games integrates slang, 'town' language (such as *ichikopabeluti*), English and even mnemonics. Kapotwe adds that integrating different forms of languages and the modification of props and even the tunes is an indication of external influences on Zambian indigenous games and music. Mumpuka (2007) concurs that changes in the form of the musical arts are inevitable, considering that for both rural and urban areas in Zambia people's lifestyles have continued to change and thus social activities such as children's games and others have to keep pace too. Mumpuka states that the shift from the usual play situations (that were organised though they happened spontaneously) to Western education systems has a great impact on the nature of the games that continue to exist and also on the equipment used. The shift that Mumpuka has alluded to has resulted in the emergence of new games that are hybrid in form.

1. *Chityatya*

A solid disc is cut out from the soft putty-like wood of the *chiombo* tree. The players stand facing each other. One at the end of each row throws the *chilombo* wheel so that it rolls swiftly down the rows of the players, and as it passes each male player, he swiftly throws his spear at it. When all players on one side have made hits, they rush at their opponents and put them to flight.

2. *Mulambilwa*

In this game the boys again are divided into two sides, and kneel in two rows facing each other. Each player then places in front of him a tiny kind of ninepin, about the size of a sparklet bulb, usually employing the hard conical berries of some tree. At a signal all throw other berries at the ninepins of their opponents. As soon as all the boys are down on one side, the vanquished players spring up and take to their heel to escape a drubbing from their conquerors.

3. *Akabwambe/Akalambe* (Touch/Tag game)

Akabwambe is a very common game played throughout the Zambia. It is very popular among both boys and girls of ages ranging from 7 to 12 years (these are primary school children). To play this game there have to be two teams that could consist of either only boys or girls, or they could be mixed. Furthermore, a marked field or play area is selected by the players and the boundaries of play are known to everyone.

One team would start by chasing the members of the other (known as *abalebutuka* – dodging) and once an opposite team member is tagged by the chasing team (known as *abalepepeka*), he or she is out of the game and is expected to sit outside the marked area of play. Though a team member may be out of the game, it is usual for them to remain watching and encouraging their team mates by cheering and clapping for them. As the game continues the dodgers run from end of a line to the other, making decoy movements to avoid being touched out. Once all the dodgers have been touched out, the chasing team would assume the role of the dodgers and likewise the dodgers become the chasers.

Sets of the game could go on repeatedly for a lengthy period depending upon the players' discretion or mutual agreement. It is common practice that when children walk from either playing or school, they tend to bid farewell by a more spontaneous kind of *akabwambe*. When saying goodbye to each other, one of the children may tag the other (and say *kobe* – it is yours) and run away towards home. The tagged child would chase after the other child until he/she tags back or in some cases give up after a long chase. The winner would sing the following song:

Table F.1 Song text of *Kamushalila kabwambe* ('The game has remained with him/her', a song sung by the winners of *akabwambe*)

Leader: <i>Kamushalila kabwambe</i> , Chorus: <i>pakanwa nga chi biki bo</i>	The game has remained with him/her, the mouth is like a big ball.
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Plate F.1 Children playing *akabwambe* (Chileshe 2004:n.p)



4. *Akalunguti*

Akalunguti is a Bemba name for a seed that is used for playing the game, which comes from *umulunguti* tree. The origins of the game can be traced to the northern province of Zambia, where was played in the early days as a leisure activity, although the desired outcomes of the game included educating and preparing youths for decision-making and critical thinking.

To play the game two or more players, though not more than four, are required. One of the players would play the role of facilitator, implying that he/she would be in charge of preparing the soil and seed required for playing the game. Before starting the game, the facilitator would arrange the heap of sand on a clean surface. The sand would be heaped in a straight line and then *akalunguti* seed would be slid under the sand and left at any point of his/her choice. The game facilitator would then separate the soil into 4 or 5 smaller heaps of sand and then ask the player to select a heap of sand in which they expect to find the seed. Each player would then search for the seed in the heap they selected until the seed was found. The game would continue for a while as participants would have as many chances as possible.

5. *Inkampa/Chikwampa* (Skipping)

The game is known by different names throughout the country. However, the name *inkampa/chikwampa* (Bemba) is more popular in Lusaka and the Copperbelt (Zambia), and is derived from the action of swinging the skipping rope (*ukukampa/ukukwampa*). *Inkampa* can

be played by both boys and girls, although according to Katongo (2008), the girls are the ones who favour it more than the boys. To play the game two players have to hold a skipping rope, one on each end of the rope facing each other, and swing it in a circular motion in front of them. As the skipping rope is swung another participant or a couple of participants (numbering from two up to four) jump in between the two players swinging the rope and immediately begin to skip.

The actions of the game are dictated by the instructions given in the lyrics of the accompanying songs. The player skipping should ensure that he/she performs the actions of the song correctly and in time with the rhythm. The following serve as examples of some of the accompanying songs for *inkampa*:

Table F.2 Song text *Owe, owe zunguluka* (*Owe, owe* turn around – game song in Nyanja)

<i>Owe, owe zunguluka</i>	<i>Owe, owe</i> turn around
<i>Owe, owe katapansi</i>	<i>Owe, owe</i> touch the ground
<i>Owe, owe kumwendo kumoz</i>	<i>Owe, owe</i> skip on one leg
<i>Owe, owe choka panja</i>	<i>Owe, owe</i> go out

Table F.3 Song text of Christopher Columbus (Skipping game song)

Christopher Columbus was a great man He sailed to America In a frying pan The waves went higher, higher and over Two fat sausages in a frying pan One went pop and the other went bang Jelly in the dish Jelly in the dish A wiggle waggle, wiggle waggle Jelly in the dish I am a little Boy Scout dressed in blue, and these are the actions I can do. Salute to the officer and bow to the Queen, and turn my eyes to the washing machine.
--

In cases where there are many children using one skipping rope, different teams are formed to allow for all the children present to have a chance to play. This means that when one team is swinging the rope (swingers), the other team would be skipping (skippers). Those waiting for their turn to come would remain as spectators cheering for their favourite team. In a situation where there are teams competing, there has to be referee who would regulate the playing by

indicating the required number of participants at a time and ensuring that the rules of the game are followed.

6. *Ichiyenga* (Stone game)

Ichiyenga is very popular in Zambia among girls from different ethnic groups and is known by different names, such as *Kuyata* in siLozi.¹ According to Chitwansombo (2007), the game has been spoken of by older Bemba people as having been passed on to them by their forefathers from the Luba-Lunda Empire in the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

To play the game, 2 to 5 players sit around a prepared hole or circle drawn on cleared ground (preferably in the shade). There is no fixed number of players per game, but each player takes their turn individually, while the others watch. *Imisepe* (sin. *umusepe*, pl. *imisepe*) are the playing pieces that are placed into the hole, while *ichanto*, a larger rounded object, is used for throwing and catching. Nowadays stones are commonly used as playing pieces; the one for throwing and catching is larger than the others. To determine who should start playing the game the players would first of do ‘*piki piki napikitolo*’,² which is considered a fair way of selecting the starter. When playing the player throws *ichanto* into the air with one hand and using the same hand scoops all the *imisepe* from the hole before catching the *ichanto* that was tossed up into the air lands with the same hand. Again the *ichanto* is tossed in the air and this time all the stones but one are placed back into the hole. The remaining stone is placed into player’s reservoir, which is outside the hole. The same procedure is followed until one *umusepe* remains in the hole. At this point the player would toss the *ichanto*, but instead of scooping the stone from the hole she would simply pick it and immediately get hold of *ichanto* before it drops. If a player completes the whole sequence without dropping *ichanto* or failing to scoop or placing back *imisepe* into the hole, then they would be allowed another turn.

As earlier indicated, *ichiyenga* has been predominantly a game played by girls and women, but according to Kalale (2007), there has been growing interest among boys of primary school age (between 6 and 12 years).

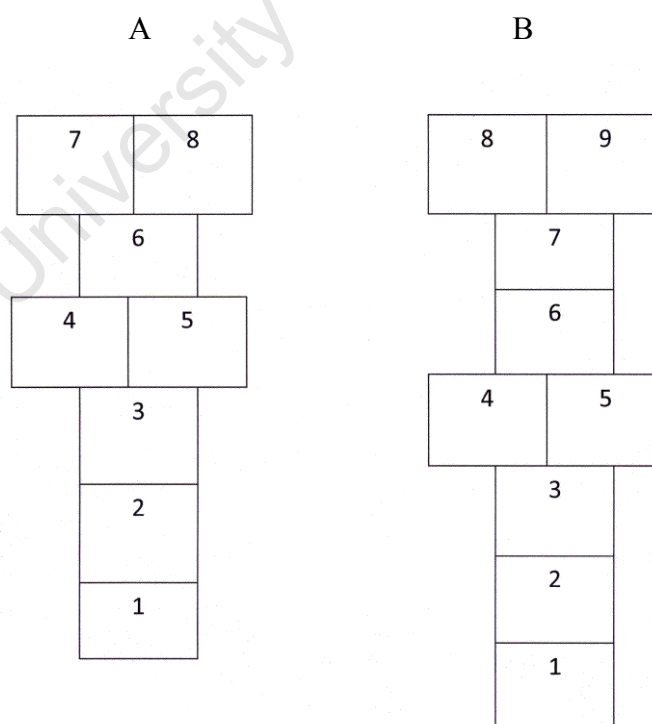
¹ SiLozi is the language spoken by the Lozi people of Western Province of Zambia. The word *Kuyata* means to scoop out something from a hole.

² *Piki piki napikitolo* is equivalent to ‘ini mini mini mo’ or ‘inky pinky ponky’.

7. *Imboko/Kaseko* (Hopscotch)

Like the other games described above, *Imboko* is a very popular game and is known by different names in the country. The game is played by both boys and girls, but the girls fancy it more than the boys. Two or more participants are required, depending upon the people present. According to the girls from Grade 9 Green at Helen Kaunda Girls High School, whom I interviewed in Kitwe, in most townships children living in the same neighbourhood usually have a permanent spot where they congregate to play *imboko*. This spot could be at an open space in between houses or at one of the player's homes (especially those whose homes have large yards). Furthermore, besides having a permanent spot, some children even mark their lines in such a way that these lines would remain for a couple of days before they could be re-marked. The marked playing area usually has nine boxes as shown in Figure 1 below. However, there are variations as to the number of boxes included in the playing space. Mushota (2007) drew a playing space that had eight boxes (similar to the one used in *Rayuela* of Indonesia – marked A in Figure F.1), while Chipokolo (1987) drew a playing space that had nine boxes (Marked B in Figure F.1), which is very common in townships in Lusaka and the Copperbelt.

Figure F.1 Types of marked playing areas

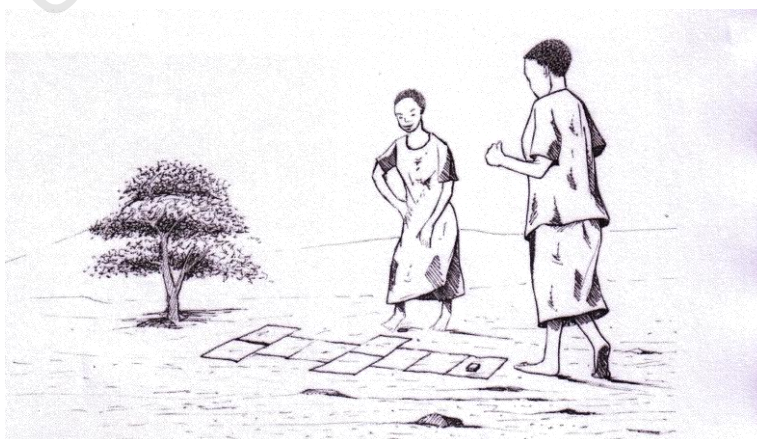


With regards to playing *imboko*, Katongo (2008) points out that each player should have their own playing object known as *ingaanda* in Bemba. *Ingaanda* is usually a light flat stone or cuttings from asbestos roofing sheets. Katongo says that the game is usually divided into two main stages:

1. *Poda*: the starting stage where the player begins by first throwing *ingaanda* into the first box whilst standing right in front of it. The player has to wait until *ingaanda* has landed to ensure that it is in the right box. Thereafter, the player hops over the first box, as it has *ingaanda*, into the second box and continues through all the boxes till he/she reaches the last one, where he/she has to return in the same sequence. However, on the return, instead of hopping over the box that has *ingaanda* he/she picks *ingaanda* and then proceeds to the starting position. The game continues by the player throwing *ingaanda* into the next box and proceeds as in the previous stage. Once the player has completed the sequence by throwing *ingaanda* in all the marked boxes, that player qualifies to advance to stage two.
2. *Sekesa*: at this stage a player is expected to throw *ingaanda* into any free box. However, he/she has to do this without looking at the boxes, so they have to turn around and face the opposite direction to where the playing boxes are. In this position the player would toss *ingaanda* over his/her head and let it land in any box in the playing boxes. Whichever box *ingaanda* lands in becomes *inganda* (house)³ of that player, which is marked by a symbol of the player's choice to indicate that other players are restricted from stepping into that box. Other restrictions in the the rules of the game whereby a player may be out of the game include: a) throwing *ingaanda* outside the marked playing surface, or landing in another player's *inganda*; b) changing the leg on which one started hopping to another while in play; c) stepping on a line; d) leaving the playing piece behind when going back to the starting point; and e) touching the ground with hands, except for picking up *ingaanda*.

The game is concluded when all the boxes have been marked as *inganda*, and the player with the most *inganda* emerges victorious.

Plate F.2 Children playing *imboko* (Chileshe 2004:n.p)



³ The word *inganda* means house/home and once it is pronounced as *ingaanda* its meaning changes to that of the playing object for *imboko* and some other games.

8. Chibale (Big plate)⁴

Chibale is one of those games that have since died out because of socio-cultural changes in the rural and urban centres. Though the game was very popular throughout the country, *chibale* is one of those games that never found their way to the cities and towns. Furthermore, the game was mainly played by females ranging from 15 years upwards to include adult women. Chitwansombo (2007) points out that in the many years he has lived in Lusaka and other towns on the Copperbelt he has not come across or even heard about people who have played *chibale* in these areas. Though Chitwansombo's observation is confirmed by the other informants who were interviewed during fieldwork, it is imperative that further research is conducted to verify this claim, as children's games were not the main focus of this study. For the purpose of this study this view is assumed as a reasonable reflection of the real situation in the country, although the possibilities of its having been played in urban centres cannot be entirely ruled out.

The main requirements to play *chibale* included: a small enamel plate,⁵ small coloured beads (the types of colours determined by the number of players), a clean piece of cloth (preferably mono-coloured to allow for the beads to show clearly), and a sufficient space to accommodate all the players. Before the game starts each player is accorded a chance to select the colour of beads that they would use for playing and would be reserved in a container available only to them. Then each player would be expected to contribute an agreed number of beads that would be put on the plate. The sitting arrangement was circular and the players took turns proceeding in a counter-clockwise direction from the agreed upon starting point.

Chibale was played by the participant collecting a handful of beads, by bending the plate for the beads to fall on the palm, and then immediately throwing them back slowly with the aim to have only one colour of beads come out and fall on the piece of cloth which was spread on the playing surface. After a throw, if no bead or a mixed colour of beads bounced out of the plate, that result was considered unsuccessful. However, if one bead or more of the same colour bounced out of the plate and fell on the cloth, that result was considered successful and the player of that throw wins all the beads in the plate. To continue with the game, all the

⁴ Although Chibale means big plate in Bemba, it is also commonly used as a name of person.

⁵ Ironically a small plate is used for playing the game and not a big one as the name of the game suggests.

players would contribute other beads again, and then the next player in the circle would take the turn to play.

9. *Chidunu* (Hide and seek)

The name *Chidunu* is a short form of *Chidunule/Chidunune*, which was derived from the act of kicking a ball very hard with the intention of letting it land far away. *Chidunu* is a very popular game among children (both boys and girls) from the urban townships. There are no restrictions as far as the number of participants is concerned. However, there should be at least a minimum of 3 players. To play the game, firstly, there should be a reasonably large area with natural objects to enable the players to hide themselves. Secondly, *ichimpombwa* (ball made from various materials such as old strips of cloth, plastic and rope) or a commercial ball (with a diameter at least 20 centimetres) must be available. Before the game starts, one player would either volunteer or be randomly selected to be the one searching for those hiding. Afterwards another player would be appointed in the same way as above, but his/her role would be to kick the ball (*ukudununa*).

Once the ball has been kicked far away, the player in charge of searching has to run and collect the ball, and as he does that the rest of the players run in all directions to find a suitable spot to hide. Upon collecting the ball the player who has to do the searching runs back to the centre spot and then counts up to 10 and announces the beginning of the search. When one player is discovered, the one searching has to announce his/her catch, and then both of them (the one who was searching and the one who was found) would run to the centre spot where the ball was left. Upon arrival at the centre spot, the first to arrive would kick the ball and then the other player would then assume the responsibility of going to collect the ball and conduct the search. The game would continue in the same way until all the players are tired or just decide otherwise.

At the end of *chidunu* the players would sing the following song (usually because in many cases the one who conducts the searches for a couple of times would end up crying as a result of frustration):

Table F.4 Song text of *Ichidunu* (*Chidunu* game song)

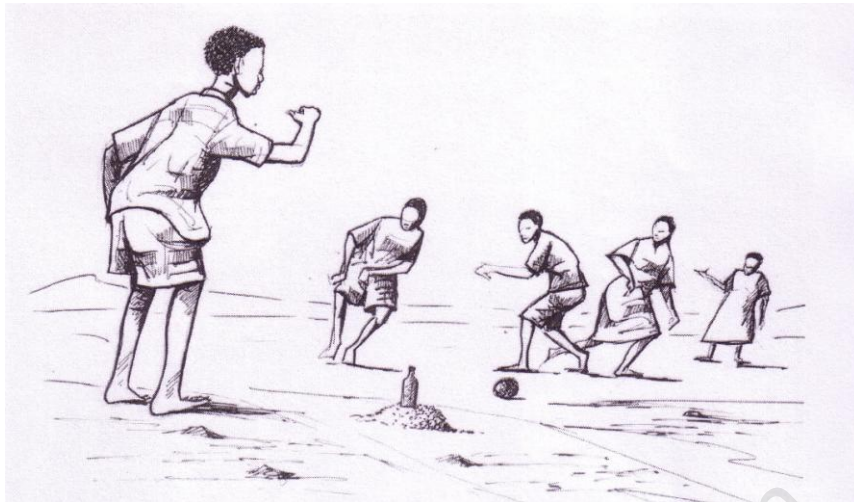
Chorus: <i>Ichidunu chilalisha,</i> <i>abaiche tababako</i>	<i>Chidunu</i> game makes people cry, young children do not take part
--	--

10. *Shomba/Start* (Ball game)

Though the game is known by many different names from township to township, the most common one is 'start'. The game is played by both boys and girls. Children usually select a playing spot within their compound and this spot remains more or less permanent for playing the game. For a place to be selected as a playing spot it should be a flat, clear, wide and sandy surface. After a spot has been selected, the children have to collect a bottle (sometimes two depending upon the players' discretion) and make *ichimpombwa* (ball made from various materials such as old strips of cloth, plastic and rope).

To play the game a minimum of 3 players is required, although the usual practice is to have between 6 to 12 or even more players. In situation where the number of players is big, two teams are formed. One team would be throwing the ball, while the other would be dodging. The following terms are used to distinguish the teams: *abaleposa* (those who are throwing) and *abaleleluka* (those who are dodging). When the game begins, the ones throwing would select two of their members to throw the ball, while the rest sit aside and watch. The two players who are throwing stand facing each other, leaving a space wide enough to accommodate the number of those dodging in between them. In the centre of the playing space a heap of sand is collected, with an empty bottle placed on top of it. The players who are supposed to dodge also stand in the centre as well. While in play, the ball would be thrown across the playing area with the aim of hitting one of the players who is inside. The players ensure that the ball does not hit anyone of them, while at the same time one of those inside would fill the bottle with sand. If the ball is thrown and it does not hit anyone, the player opposite to the one who threw would catch it and throw it back immediately. Should the ball hit one of the players, then that player is out and the rest of them continue. Once the bottle is filled with sand and immediately poured out, it means that the team that is dodging has won a set and the game would start all over again with the same team dodging. However, if all the dodging players are hit before they could fill and empty the bottle, then that team is out and roles would be switched. There are no restrictions as to how many sets could be played as this depends upon mutual agreement of the players involved.

Plate F.3 Children playing *Shomba* (Chileshe 2004:n.p)



11. *Isolo* (Seed game)⁶

Considering that the origin of the game and the initial method of play are not clear, it is important to point out that the following description gives just one of the several styles of playing *isolo* within Bemba society. Furthermore, the information provided is basically a summary and certain elements have been omitted.

Like the other games described in this study, *Isolo* is known by different names among the different ethnic groups within Zambia and also in other African countries. In this study the Bemba name is used. According to Chitwansombo (2007), the name *isolo* came from that of a tree, known as *umusolo*, which produced the seeds that were used as the playing pieces of the game. Chileshe (2004) writes that in the early days the game was not only a pass-time activity, but it also served the purpose of keeping ethnic warriors together during the times they were not at war. Kasolo (2008) adds that some Bemba chiefs used *isolo* to settle simple disputes among very close relatives. Kasolo says that the aggrieved relatives would be given a number of sets to play and at the end of the game the winner would also be declared winner of the case. However, during the colonial times on the Copperbelt of Zambia *isolo* was used as a means for the oppressed Africans to meet, discuss politics and send messages to each other (Mitchel 1956 and Epstein 1958).

⁶ For the purposes of this research Bemba terms will be used in the description of the game.

In the early days, *isolo* was played on clear flat ground with shallow holes (of about 10 cm diameter and 2 cm deep) dug close to each other in rows of varying numbers (such as 2 rows with 8 holes each, 4 rows with 8 holes each, 4 rows with 12 holes, etc.). In order to simplify, the 4 rows with 8 holes each will be described. In this game the total number of holes came to forty-eight, and each hole was filled with two playing pieces (Pl. *utusolwa* and sin. *akasolwa* – seeds). However, presently metal and wooden boards are commonly used for playing *isolo*. According to Kashoki (2008), he designed a playing board that was made from very light but durable wood and that could be folded for easy carrying and storage. Kashoki continues that he had his playing pieces made of plastic and in two different colours. Other varieties of *insolo*, from other parts of Africa, have also been modified to suit the current conditions. Furthermore, the fact that the game has many different names and its playing surface is made from various materials goes to show that modifications in the rules and style of play have also been made.

Of the many varieties of playing *isolo* among the Bemba, the game known as *chipili*⁷ will be described. To begin with, playing pieces are heaped in one hole (usually in one corner) and then in each of the remaining holes are placed two playing pieces. Each player is expected to play, in a counter-clockwise motion, from two of the rows that are right in front of him. The game starts with one player picking the two playing pieces from the hole in the left-hand corner of the row that is closest to him. Then he places one playing piece in each of the next two holes. The last piece to be placed in a hole containing other pieces is picked together with all the others, and then distributed beginning from the next hole in sequence. The same process is repeated until the final piece is placed in an empty hole. Since there are no pieces in that hole, the player has to end his lap there. In Bemba the end of a lap is expressed in the phrase '*isolo lya lala*' ('the game has slept'). However, if the last piece lands in a hole with only one piece, then that player has to collect all the pieces in the opposite holes from the other player's rows and then continue with the sequence. The act of collecting playing pieces from the opponent's side is expressed in the phrase '*ukulya*' ('to eat'). The game would continue for some time, with players taking turns alternately until one of the players has no pieces left to play and the other one's last piece lands in an empty hole. The game is declared over (*isolo lya lala*) and the last player is the winner.

⁷ The word *chipili* is derived from *umupili*, which means a heap of something. In order to emphasise the size of the heap, *chipili* is preferable as it denotes a big heap of the playing pieces.

Appendix G

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Appendix G

Ukupyanyika (Succession)

Succession by a maiden (*Ukupyanyika umushimbe*)

The *shimfwilwa* (widower) and *impyani* (successor) have to meet and have sexual intercourse and perform the purification rite that is done in marriage. They both have to place *akanweno kapalwino*¹ (little bowl used for all ritual purifications following sexual relations) on the fire and likewise remove it afterwards. After this purification rite they have to place a little *ubunga bwa male* (millet flour) and *mufuba* (prepared by *shinganga* (diviner) at the purification of the village) in the remaining purification water. This mixture is put on the fire and cooked in the same way as *ubwali* (maize meal mush) is done (*ukunaya*). Once the mixture is ready, the officiants both have to take *akalutoshi* (small ball) of the mush and eat it. Etienne (1937:73) states that the couple have to remain indoors and observe the following taboos: no fire is allowed to be made and no cooking must be done. Food would be brought for them by relatives and the remains must be thrown far away in the bush.

On the morning of the last day of their seclusion, both *shimfwilwa* and *impyani* shave and anoint themselves with *amafuta yachenjela* (virgin oil) taken from the chief of the village. Thereafter the *ukushikula* (undoing of taboos) ceremony takes place outside the hut in the presence of all clan members from both sides. This ceremony is a miniature of the *ukushikula* ceremony that takes place during marriage ceremonies (a detailed account is given in Chapter 3). Upon completion of all the purification formalities the maiden has succeeded her relative (*apyana*) and she will bear the name of the deceased and assume all her privileges; as a distinctive sign will wear *umushingo* (girdle) (Kawimbe 1987). In earlier times it was very common that *shimfwilwa* took *impyani* as his wife.

Succession by a married woman (*Ukupyanyika uwaupwa*)

In a situation where the family of the deceased has no maiden to succeed her sister, a married woman is the only option. Ng'andu (1922:75) indicates that the successor (*impyani*) in this case takes the name *ichishishi* (light ember) as the name invokes an image such as a live ember being taken momentarily from the fire to perform a passing function, such as lighting a pipe, then returned to its former state. Ng'andu further indicates that the married woman will likewise be taken away from her husband only momentarily for the purpose of receiving death (*imfwa*) from the widower (*shimfwilwa*) and after that return to her spouse. The successor in this case will only perform the

¹ *Akanweno* is a little bowl, while *akalongo* is a little clay pot and both could be used for the same purposes. Therefore, some people use *akalongo kapalwino* as opposed to *akanweno kapalwino*.

cleansing ceremony without the knowledge of her husband. She will have to leave him on some pretext or other.

As in the case of succession by a maiden, sexual intercourse is the purification measure taken. In this case no ritual ablution is performed, but instead both will go into the bush, at the *masansa* (space in between the place where two paths meet), where the funeral procession passed. To perform this purification rite, two clay pots (*inongo*), one bearing the name *Kalubi* (little idol) and representing the deceased woman, the other *Chikota* (the female), are used for mixing ground roots *mubwilili* and *musamba mfwa* together with *mufuba* (mixture of mealie meal).² A fire is made for preparing the decoction and as the successor places and removes the clay pots on the fire, the widower will not touch them, but have contact and participate by placing his hands on *impyani*'s shoulders. When the decoction is warm, *shimfwilwa* has to smear it on his hands and soles of his feet, while *impyani* has to smear it on her hands, arms and face. The decoction used for this purpose must come from *Chikota*, while those from *Kalubi* are thrown on the path that the funeral procession followed. When they return home, there is no period of seclusion or *ukushikula*, because *impyani*'s husband must not be aware of this *ukupyana*.

Upon *impyani*'s return to her husband, she must observe various taboos, such as *tutema* and *chilolela*, after having sexual intercourse with him. This is necessary, as she did not perform the ablution during *ukupyana*, and purification must be done without any knowledge of her husband. The purification she has to perform would include the use of *kokolwe* (a root), which she has to secretly put in *akanweno ka palwino* as they enact purification after sexual intercourse. This subsequent ablution will have the effect of washing away any pollution. 'This cute trick played on her husband is kept as a secret for the rest of her life' (Kambole 2003).

Secondly, in the case of a widow (*mukamfwilwa*), the clan may choose a married man or a bachelor (*nkungulume*) as the other officiant.

Succession by a married man (*Ukupyana uwaupa*)

This is not a secret procedure, but the husband must come to an understanding with his wife. In most cases, as a protective measure, the wife would give her husband *akalungu akabuta* (white beads) or a small strip of cloth from her *umushingo*, which he would tie around his wrist or to any part of his

² The English equivalents of the ground roots *umubwilili* and *umusamba mfwa* have not been provided as there are no reliable sources for such information. It will be helpful to understand them as herbal roots.

body. At the moment of sexual intercourse that *akalungu* or *umushingo* would be placed on the bed next to the *umushingo* of the widow. This is meant to deliver the *mukamfwilwa* (widow) from death. The *akanweno ka palwino* (little bowl used for all ritual purifications following sexual relations) would be prepared by *mukamfwilwa*'s relatives and both would place it on, and remove it from, the fire. They would wash their fingers with the *muti* in *akanweno* and then prepare a small *bwali* made from *mwangwe* and *mufuba* (prepared by the *shinganga* when performing the post-funeral purification of the village) mixed with *ichiko* (scrapings of dirt from the deceased's bow). When the mush is ready, both would swallow *ulutoshi* (small ball) and, if the deceased had children, they too must eat of the mush (which is called *kakabe*) (Etienne 1937:76).

For the purification of the rest of the clan members, special herbs (*amafuta yachenjela*) are mixed with a little *mufuba*, *ichiko* and *inkula*, which would be used for smearing their hands and arms.³ In the early days this oil mixture would also be sent in small bottles to all relatives, even those living far away. A period of seclusion and *ukushikula* would follow after the purification (it has the same format as that in the case of a maiden). *Impyani* is thus endowed with the name, functions and dignity of the deceased relative. Kambole (2003) notes that if *impyani* so wills, the woman may become his second wife. If not, she is free to marry somebody else. Kambole further notes that in Bemba tradition polygamy occurred mainly because of such situations as *ukupyana* (as shown above); the reason for this was to take care of the deceased's family by a surviving relative.

If it happened that *mukamfwilwa* (widow) was taken as a second wife, the two women must exchange the wifely insignia. This was done by the husband getting both *imishingo* and then, after sexual intercourse with each of his wives, *imishingo* would be sprinkled with the purification water from *akanweno kapalwino*. Lastly, the two women must exchange fires (*ukusansha umulilo*).

Succession by a bachelor (*Ukupyana* *nkungulume*)

In this case *impyani* would have sexual intercourse with *mukamfwilwa* and then perform the purification ritual. Just as in the case above, *akalongo ka palwino* would be prepared by the relatives of *mukamfwilwa* and then both would place it and remove it from the fire. They would purify their fingers in the *muti* and then prepare a small *bwali* made from the mixture of *mwangwe*, *mufuba* and *ichiko*. When the mush is ready, both would swallow a small *ulutoshi* and the same must apply to the children of the deceased person. As explained above, the mixture of *amafuta yachenjela* would

³ The English equivalents of the special herbs have not been provided because no sources for such information could be found.

be given to all the members of the clan for their purification. Seclusion and *ukushikula* would proceed after the purification (it has the same format as that in the case above). Should *impyani* find it appropriate, especially if *mukamfwilwa* is young and suitable, he would decide to take her as his wife. Mukolongo (1999) observes that in such a situation *impyani* would not be expected to give a marriage payment, and likewise no marriage ceremonies would be celebrated. However, he would assume the title and functions of his predecessor and look after the family.

Because of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the Bemba are no longer keen to use sexual intercourse as a purification measure for anyone who loses a spouse. This matter has been discussed at length in the House of Chiefs of the Zambian Parliament, and a general consensus has been reached that traditional practices which endanger the lives of people have been discouraged. Kazembe (2003), Chief of the Lunda of Luapula Province, recommend that it was the duty of those in positions of authority, such as chiefs, to review and discourage some of the traditions and customs which threatened the lives of people. Kazembe further pointed out that chiefs should also use their office to help combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic in order to save the lives of the people they lead. What is commonly practised today, as observed by Mukolongo (1999), is that a few days after the funeral, a meeting known as *isambo lyamfwa* is held. At this gathering the cause of *imfwa* is revealed to the clan and at the same time *impyani* is named. If *impyani* is a married man, he would be asked to have sexual intercourse with his wife (after which he will be hot – *akaba*) and then take *ubulungu ubwabuuta* (white beads) and tie them around *mukamfwilwa*'s wrist. *Impemba* (white kaolin) will be smeared on *mukamfwilwa*'s forehead and *impyani* would bless her (*ukupala amate*) and *mukamfwilwa* is free from death (*imfwa*). The family of the deceased would then hand *impyani* the *imishingo* of the deceased and *impyani* is thus endowed with the name, functions and dignity of the deceased relative. The same procedure is followed in the case when *impyani* is a married woman. However, if *impyani* is a maiden or a bachelor, there is no act of sexual intercourse involved in the purification, but *mukamfwilwa* will be smeared with *impemba* on her forehead and *impyani* would bless her. The family of the deceased would then hand her *impyani* with *imishingo* of the deceased. *Impyani* is thus endowed with the name, functions and dignity of the deceased relative.

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Appendix H

Amafunde (Marriage instructions)

1. *Amafunde ya kwa nabwinda* (Marriage instructions for the bride)

When *nabwinda* (the bride) is taken into seclusion for the purpose of marriage instruction, the selected *bana chimbusa* (midwives who take care and instruct the initiate) prepare the food and drinks (beer and soft drinks) for all those invited to assist in performing the rituals and ceremonies. At the selected venue a special room is prepared for the instruction to take place. It should be noted that *amafunde* ceremonies are performed by selected females only. Furthermore, this brief description will only focus on the setting in which marriage instruction is given and also the way in which musical arts are utilised. This is because some of the contents of the instructions are meant to be kept secret and, according to the Bemba traditions, only those who are initiated and those who are being initiated are privileged to have access to this kind of knowledge. In terms of instructional setting *amafunde* is to a great extent similar to that of *chisungu* (Bemba girls initiation ceremony), especially in that there are specially selected *bana chimbusa* who perform different roles. There are also other elders who are invited to support the *bana chimbusa*. Other important role players are the drummers, who are specifically hired to provide drum accompaniment for the songs to be used during the whole period of instruction. The number of instructors and those invited to assist in conducting *amafunde* varies at the discretion of the mother of *nabwinda*.

Amafunde ceremonies begin with an entry procession consisting of *nabwinda* accompanied by *bana chimbusa* (who may number two or three). The procession with *nabwinda* covered in *chitenge* (printed cloth) crawl into the instruction room accompanied by singing and drumming (as shown in Plate 1). A mime is then performed showing the different seeds contained in a winnowing basket separated according to their kind (as shown in Plate 2). The seeds may include maize, beans, sorghum, millet, pumpkin seeds, cow pees, groundnuts, etc. This activity, like several others within *amafunde*, is performed at three levels: a) the act of separating the seeds; b) singing and drumming; and c) commentaries by *nachimbusa*. Once the mime of separating seeds has been completed, *bana chimbusa* and those invited will take turns in leading the instructions through singing and dancing. It is customary for one member to lead the song and dance while the rest in attendance respond in chorus. In addition to singing and dancing, dramatisation also plays a very important role. Plate 3 shows a *nachimbusa* dramatising a scene that teaches the way to deal with pregnancy. The *mfunkutu*

(wedding) songs and dance, and the performance structure inherent in *amafunde*, are similar to those of other marriage ceremonies as described in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.1.

Plate H.1 *Nabwinda*'s entry into the performance arena (© Lumbwe 2003)



Plate H.2 *Nabwinda* shown how to select seeds (© Lumbwe 2003)



Plate H.3 *Nachimbusa* depicts ‘bad’ women (© Lumbwe 2003)



2. *Amafunde ya kwa shibwinga* (Marriage instructions for the groom)

As stated earlier, *amafunde* for *shibwinga* (groom) do not involve singing, dancing and drumming. The duration of the institution is far shorter than that of *nabwinga*. The main trainers include *shibukombe* (go-between or spokesman), who is in charge of organising specially selected male instructors. The number of these instructors is entirely at the discretion of *shibukombe* and *shibwinga*'s parents.

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Appendix I

Examples of entry songs sang at Kitchen Parties

Table I.1 Song text of *Nse nse*

Leader:	<i>Nse nse</i>	Nse nse
Chorus:	<i>Tubatwalile</i> <i>tubatwalile abene</i> <i>bakayonawile.</i>	Let us take it to them, let us take it to the so that they can spoil it themselves

Table I.2 Song text of *Twaisha ee*

Leader:	<i>Twaisha ee, twaisha lelo</i>	We have come, we have come today
Chorus:	<i>Ichalo balalengula</i>	In the world you should be observant
Leader:	<i>Twaisha ee, twaisha lelo</i>	We have come, we have come today
Chorus:	<i>Ichalo balatemwa noko</i>	In the world you should love your mother

Table I.3 Song text of *Kalombo mwane*

Leader:	<i>Balesa twamikunkwila</i>	Lord we bow down for you
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Twamichindika</i>	We respect you
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Twawa napanshi</i>	We fall to the ground
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Balesa mulibakulu</i>	Lord you are the most high
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Mwachile mpili</i>	You are greater than the mountains
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Ala kalombo</i>	Oh thank you
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Uyo uyo uyo kalombo</i>	Oh oh oh thank you
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Yo yo yo yo</i>	Oh, oh, oh, oh
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane yo yo yo</i>	We thank you most high
Leader:	<i>Ala kalombo</i>	Oh thank you
Leader:	<i>Nga mwaumfwa ubwite</i> <i>bwamfumu,</i>	If you hear the lord's calling
Chorus:	<i>Bwite bwamfumu,</i> <i>mwasuke muchinshi, muchinshi.</i>	The lord's calling, you must answer respectfully.
Leader:	<i>Mwasuke amuti</i>	You must answer
Chorus:	<i>Kalombo mwane</i>	We thank you most high

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Appendix J

Ichilangamulilo ceremonies (Food offering ceremonies for the *shibwinga*)

Table J.1 *Ichilangamulilo* ceremonies

Ceremony	Place	Participants	Ritual(s)	Time
1. <i>Ukupekanya ifyakulya</i> (preparation of food)	<i>Nabwinga</i> 's parents' home or selected relative's home (done outside the house to allow for enough space)	<p>Selected <i>bana chimbusa</i> from the community (those with good cooking skills).</p> <p><i>Nabwinga</i>'s female relatives</p> <p><i>Nabwinga</i>'s mother</p> <p><i>Nabwinga</i></p> <p><i>Nabwinga</i>'s father or selected representative</p>	<p>As food is being cooked the women sing and dance (songs coming from different marriage ceremonies such as <i>chisungu</i>, <i>ubwinda</i> and <i>ichilangamulilo</i>) miming of domestic scenes and general reminders of marriage instructions is done throughout the process.</p> <p><i>Nabwinga</i> is brought to the cooking place to be customarily shown how the different dishes are prepared. She is expected to take part in the preparation of the main <i>ubwali</i>, which is prepared in a huge pot.</p> <p>Once all the dishes are ready and served in <i>amabakuli</i> (sin <i>ibakuli</i> – enamel bowls covered one on top of the other) <i>nabwinga</i>'s father¹⁰ will customarily be presented with all the dishes and drinks for him to bless. During this ceremony the song '<i>Mulangile amone</i>' is sung.</p> <p>Immediately after blessings, the food and drinks are customarily transported to <i>shibwinga</i>'s home for presentation.</p>	<p>The whole process of preparation of food usually lasts for one and a half days (for instance from Friday going through the night till Saturday midday, and thereafter presentation the same day).</p> <p>Special care is taken in handling, preparation and storage of food as hygiene is taken into consideration.</p>
2. <i>Ukutwala ifyakulya</i> (taking the food) 2.1 Arrival From wherever it was prepared, food is transported in cars (due to the quantities of food involved and the distance to be covered it only feasible to use cars) in a convoy during which singing and ululating is done. About four hundred to five hundred	<i>Shibwinga</i> 's home or specially selected relative's home or even <i>Shibukombe</i> 's home.	<p><i>Shibwinga</i>'s family, relatives and friends</p> <p><i>Nabwinga</i>'s relatives (excluding her mother) and selected <i>bana chimbusa</i>.</p> <p><i>Shibwinga</i></p> <p><i>Shibukombe</i></p>	<p>The food is customarily placed on the mat in a space right in front of where <i>shibwinga</i> is seated flanked by <i>shibukombe</i> and any senior relative. The song '<i>Mayo ntuleni ntundu</i>' is sung as the food is being placed on the mat (<i>shibwinga</i>'s party is expected to assist the visitors in putting the food down from their heads where it was carried).</p> <p>Once all the dishes are displayed on the mat, <i>shibwinga</i>'s party customarily searches for a 'hidden treasure' (<i>inkoko iyilole</i> – a live chicken) while singing and acting out the text in the song '<i>Pa mpa mpa</i>' until the chicken is found on whoever is hiding it (from <i>nabwinga</i>'s party).</p>	<p>The ceremony takes place on a selected Saturday in the afternoon (usually between 14:00h and 13:30h)</p> <p>Presentation of food lasts as long as it takes to display all the dishes one by one. However, from the</p>

¹⁰ In case *nabwinga*'s father is not available, a specially selected relative could stand in and perform the functions expected from him.

<p>metres away their destination, the women get of the cars and carry the food and drinks on their heads in procession while singing and ululating in jubilation (the song ‘<i>Nse nse tubatwalile</i>’)</p> <p>2.2 Entry into the yard At the gate, <i>shibwinga</i>’s party will wait to receive and welcome their in-laws. Both parties (<i>nabwinga</i>’s and <i>shibwinga</i>’s) sing dance and ululate with an exchange of jokes. The visitors’ procession will only enter into the yard once their hosts offer them token gifts of money to their satisfaction (not given in hand but thrown on the ground for them to pick).</p> <p>2.3 Entry into the house <i>Nabwinga</i>’s party will make a stop outside the main entrance and continue singing and dancing until again they are customarily offered token gifts of money. The procession enters the house walking backwards while singing the song ‘<i>Twingile shani ee</i>’.</p> <p>2.4. Departure <i>Nabwinga</i>’s party is escorted out of the yard amidst singing, dancing and exchange of jokes by <i>shibwinga</i>’s selected party.</p> <p>2.5 The feast <i>Shibwinga</i>’s party will remain and eat the food that was presented to them. It should be noted that <i>shibwinga</i> is expected to taste all the food and drink that is presented to him.</p>			<p>Presentation: two selected <i>bana chimbusa</i> begin showing <i>shibwinga</i> dish by dish, with an initial removal of the lid of the first dish using their mouths while the song ‘<i>Kamukupukwila</i>’ is being sung by all in attendance. From then on all the food is shown to <i>shibwinga</i> with commentaries and the song ‘<i>mulangile amone</i>’ being sung (every after each display the presenting <i>na chimbusa</i> will do the <i>ukulamba</i> at the feet of <i>shibwinga</i> as a sign of humility and respect for him). As this is going on, commentaries to reinforce and explain what is going on are done by <i>shibukombe</i> to enable <i>shibwinga</i> to understand or grasp the lessons (token gifts of money are continuously given to the presenting <i>bana chimbusa</i>). To conclude the presentation ceremony individuals from both parties take to the centre space and sing and dance after which <i>nabwinga</i>’s party is presented with drinks to take away as a token of appreciation and a gesture of reciprocity of generosity accorded to <i>shibwinga</i>’s family.</p>	<p>thirty <i>ichilangamulilo</i> ceremonies I have attended the average duration is two and a half hours.</p>
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Ceremony	Place	Participants	Ritual(s)	Time
3. Returning of the utensils used for the presentation of food and drinks	<i>Nabwinga's</i> parents' home or the selected relative's place where the food was prepared before presentation.	<i>Shibukombe</i> (and selected relatives from <i>shibwinga's</i> family) <i>Nabwinga's</i> parents or representatives (with other relatives to support and witness the ceremony).	Presentation of the utensils: <i>Shibukombe</i> will return the plates to their owners by making commentaries on the ceremonies and negotiations that both families have gone through, and then customarily hand a gift of money placed inside one set of <i>amabakuli</i> , one of them being placed on top of the other and covering the money between them. The presentation of the gift of money in this way signifies the gesture of respect and thanks accorded to the family of <i>nabwinga</i> .	This ceremony is not intended to last long, but due to the Bemba traditional hospitality the visitors are served with drinks (of beer and soft drinks) and this results into the lengthening of the event.

Sources: (Books and dissertations) Labrecque, 1931: 47 – 50; Kambole, 1980: 61 – 101; Lumbwe, 2004: 103 – 119
(Personal interviews) Ilunga, 2002; Fulanshi, 2003; Kapwepwe, 2003; Mukolongo, 1996; Mutale, 2006.

Appendix K

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Appendix K

Amashiwi ya nkosho (Words of wisdom)

This following speech is reproduced word-for-word from Mr Makasa's personal files and includes the song texts of the songs that he sang. Mr Robert Speedwell Kapasa Makasa¹ delivered his speech at the wedding reception of Melody Bwalya Katongo and Moses Kangwa Kateule on Saturday 21 August 1999 at Kamuchanga Community Hall in Mufulira.

After having observed all the protocols, Mr Makasa began by singing the song '*Twaleta chintomfwa*':

Table K.1 Song text of *Twaleta chintomfwa*

Chilembo:	<i>Twaleta chintomfwa,</i> <i>naimwe mwaleta chintomfwa</i>	We have brought a naughty child, you have also brought a naughty child
Chorus:	<i>Bakumana</i>	They have met

I have selected to sing this song for you, Melody and Moses, because I would like you to understand the foundation on which your union has been based. Much of the marriage lessons have been given to you in the various ceremonies that you have gone through. However, I would like to draw to your attention to a few pointers in marriage that you have to remember.

Firstly, for us Africans marriage means a union of a man and woman forever. This union also signifies the bringing together of the bride and groom's families forever. This means that the Katongo and the Kateule families, including their extended families, from this day have been bound together into one large community. I would like you to remember that the union of two families has been brought about by the two of you, Melody and Moses. For this, I would like to thank you very much.

¹ Mr Makasa, former Cabinet Minister and Member of the Central Committee of the Government of Zambia, was Melody's uncle, who was selected to present a speech on behalf of the Katongo family. According to Bemba custom, *nabwinga* (the bride) or *shibwinga* (the bridegroom) should be represented by their maternal uncles, because this is in line with their being matrilineal. Because of colonial influences the practice has changed in that, in some cases, *nabwinga*'s or *shibwinga*'s father would represent their families.

I remember someone at a wedding I attended in Lusaka said that:

Marriage is a unique relationship. It is a relationship where two unrelated persons struggle to live together. The relationship is so important, because it is through it that all the other blood relationships are created. You are only related to somebody by blood because marriage did take place somewhere. So we invest in this unique relationship, because it is our wish and prayer that the relationship should last. Therefore, we should do everything possible to emphasise the importance and continuity of marriage.

What lesson do we draw from this remark? I suppose many of us may simply understand the meaning of this quotation from a very shallow level. The latent meaning here is what we must focus on. Let me simplify the task of interpreting what I am trying to say: for any relationship to last it must be built on a solid foundation. By solid foundation I am talking about LOVE. Marriage is like vegetables in a garden that require watering and weeding for them to grow well. Therefore, 'watering and weeding' in marriage refers to love for one another in order for the relationship between woman and man to grow stronger and stronger in marriage.

Secondly, I would like to draw your attention to the Bemba proverb: '*Imiti ipalamene, taibula kushenkana*' (People living together are bound to have differences), which simply means that where there is more than one person living together, it is obvious that these people will experience differences, clashes and also agreements. It is important for the two of you to utilise all the marriage tools that have been given to you during your lessons. I do not have to go into the details of these lessons as these have already been elaborated by *bana chimbusa* and *ba shibukombe*. I hope, *ba* Moses, you will not resort to throwing punches, like Muhammad Ali or Loti Mwale, at your wife when you have a problem in your home. Let me remind you that you have many people in our new large family who can assist you to deal with any of your problems.

Thirdly, '*ichikupempula echukulya*' (Your best friend could be your worst enemy). Let me draw your attention to what happens in the communities we live. Not everyone who comes to you with a piece of advice does that in good faith. You must be careful with who and what to take from all that you hear from other people. In short, I would like to urge you to build your marriage on trust for each other as husband and wife. The moment you start listening to '*kachepa*' (liar), your marriage will not last at all.

As I said earlier on, much has been said to you, Melody and Moses, during your marriage lessons. Therefore, I would like to conclude by reminding you that ‘*Kwimba kati, kusansha na Lesa*’ (Whatever you do must be done according to God teaching). In all that you do, you must ask God almighty for guidance, and furthermore, I hope you will not discard our culture, traditions and customs because these define who you are as people.

[Mr Makasa sang the following song.]

Table K.2 Song text of *Mwimbona mamba munuma*

Leader:	<i>Mwimbona mamba munuma</i>	Do not see the scales on my back
Chorus:	<i>Nine nafyale mbeka</i>	I am the one who bore this beautiful child
Leader:	<i>Mwimbona mamba munuma</i>	Do not see the scales on my back
Chorus:	<i>Nine nafyala Chibeka</i>	I am the one who bore Chibeka

Thank you very much.

Appendix L

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Appendix L

Ukukuuluula and Ukushikula (Undoing of taboos)

This is a ceremony whereby the two families, *shibwinga*'s and *nabwinga*'s, introduce themselves and explain their totems and clans, and also give some marriage tips to the couple through songs. *Ukuluula* and *ukushikula* may either take place in the morning or afternoon at the home of *nabwinga*'s parents. The couple are seated apart from the rest of the people who have gathered. Two marriage plates are placed in front of them, on which *ukushikula* will be done, which involves the placing of a small gift of money on the marriage plates before speaking to the couple. The first to speak is *nabwinga*'s father, who must first present *umufwi* (spear) to *shibwinga*, and then introduce the members of his clan. *Shibwinga* is given the spear so that he will have enough power to protect his wife from other men and enemies. Thereafter, anyone from the gathering is free to address the couple, but before doing so they must put a small gift of money on the marriage plates.

It is customary that after presentation of a token gift to the couple, the presenters sing a song through which they deliver their marriage instructions. When singing the presenter leads the singing while the rest of the people in attendance respond in chorus. The following are examples of songs sung at *ukuluula* and *ukushikula* ceremony:

Table L.1 Song text of *Umukowa* (the clan)

<i>Ichupo wasenda pa mutwe</i>	Carry your marriage on your head
<i>Umukowa eo wasesha kuminwe</i>	your clan in your hands

After singing the song *Umukowa* the presenter would explain to the couple that:

Marriage must be given the first priority and then followed by concern for their relatives and friends. Although marriage is the most important factor they must not neglect their extend family.

Table L.1 Song text of *Fulwe* (Tortoise)

<i>Fulwe pa fyakwe,</i>	The tortoise for its own thing,
<i>aingisha umukoshi</i>	gets its head
<i>muchifwambako.</i>	into its shell.
<i>Pa fya banankwe,</i>	But for its friend's things,
<i>akolomona umukoshi</i>	it sticks its neck
<i>muchifwambako.</i>	out of its shell.

After singing the song *Fulwe* the presenter would explain that:

A good wife is one who provides good hospitality to visitors, friends and relatives. One cannot expect other people to be hospitable to them when they have not been to others. According to Bemba custom people are expected to be generous.

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Appendix M

Song text *Balekuzembeleka* (Jk 2004)

Table M.1 Translation of ‘*Balekuzembeleka*’ song text from Ichikopabeluti to Ichibemba and English

Ichikopabeluti	Ichibemba	English
<p>Refrain</p> <p><i>Balekuzembeleka balefwaya ukanshe</i> <i>Baleti gayi obe nichintomfwa ukamushe</i> <i>Bati pali bonse na diga iwe wekafye</i> <i>Leka nkutelize</i> <i>Nabanoko ukabebe ati wabakofye weak kuli ine</i></p> <p>Verse 1</p> <p><i>Nangu bakutuke</i> <i>Nangu bakuseke</i> <i>Iwe ubebe, iwe naine ni pe na pe</i> <i>Pulani tukwete bena tabeshibe</i> <i>So balabekofye ba chabe chabe</i> <i>Ifwe kuno tuleumfwa spaka jezi</i> <i>Bena baletumfwila jelasi</i> <i>Bushe bane efyo chikalaba ifi kanshi?</i> <i>Iwe chikashana wibomfwila babufi</i> <i>Ichitemwiko chesu ni pulopa</i> <i>Ndomfwa kenge, ine niwe naupa</i> <i>Ukusanga umutemwikwa chalishupa</i> <i>Ilelo kantashe Lesa nalishuka</i> <i>Lyonse ine ndakutontonkanyapo</i> <i>Lyonse ichitemwiko chilakulilako</i> <i>Lyonse ndakwibukisha nshikulabako</i> <i>Pali iwe umo akafwilapo</i></p> <p>Verse 2</p> <p><i>Les a gelo ampela chachine niwe</i> <i>Naiwe gayi akupela nine</i> <i>Iwe ni makali abashala nshikumbwa</i> <i>Nangu ba sunshe bokosi pakwenda</i> <i>Tapaba uukakutemwa ngefyo nakutemwa</i></p>	<p>Refrain</p> <p><i>Balekuchenjelela balefwaya ukanshe</i> <i>Baleti umutemwikwa obe nichintomfwa ukamushe</i> <i>Kwena palibonse natemwa iwe weka</i> <i>Leka nkwebe</i> <i>Nabamoko ukabebe ati wakofye weka kuli ine</i></p> <p>Verse 1</p> <p><i>Nangu bakutuke</i> <i>Nangu bakuseke</i> <i>Iwe ubebe, iwe naine ni pe na pe</i> <i>Amapange tukwete bena tabeshibe</i> <i>Kanshi balabeko babi</i> <i>Ifwe kuno tuleumfwa bwino</i> <i>Bena baletumfwila ubufuba</i> <i>Bushe bane efyo chikalaba ifi kanshi?</i> <i>Iwe chikashana wibomfwila babufi</i> <i>Ichitemwiko chesu chachishinka</i> <i>Ndomfwa bwino, ine niwe naupa</i> <i>Ukusanga umutemwikwa chaliafya</i> <i>Ilelo kantashe Lesa nalishuka</i> <i>Lyonse ine ndakutontonkanyapo</i> <i>Lyonse ichitemwiko chilakulilako</i> <i>Lyonse ndakwibukisha nshikulabako</i> <i>Pali iwe umo akafwilapo</i></p> <p>Verse 2</p> <p><i>Les a umutemwikwa ampela chachine niwe</i> <i>Naiwe umutemwikwa akupela nine</i> <i>Iwe ulimusuma abashala nshikumbwa</i> <i>Nangu basunshe amatako pakwenda</i> <i>Tapaba uukakutemwa ngefyo nakutemwa</i></p>	<p>Refrain</p> <p>They are sweet talking you, they want you to leave me They are saying that your lover is naughty, you should leave him You are the only one I love Let me tell you Tell your mother that you are the only lover I have</p> <p>Verse 1</p> <p>Even though they insult you Even though they laugh at you Tell them that you and I our love is forever They do not know what plans we have So forget about them, they are useless We are feeling fine They are jealous of us Is this how it shall always be? Do not listen to them, they are liars Our love is real I feel good, you are the one I have married It is difficult to find a lover Let me thank God today for I am lucky I always think about you Our love grows every time I always remember you, I do not forget about you Someone will die because of you</p> <p>Verse 2</p> <p>The lover God has given me, it is true you are the one And I am the lover he has given you You are beautiful, I do not admire the rest Even though they swing their buttocks when walking There is no one who will love you as I love you</p>

<p><i>Ukumpoka iwe kwena bakafwilapo Lavu yesu yafuma apatali elyo kabili, tukaitwala apatali Lyonse ikala aka ngechibili Gelo nomba tubazimye bambuli Bengi bakumbwa efyo twangala Balidabwa ifwe chalilila Bena yalifauka balifulwa So bafwaya naifwe ikaluke</i></p> <p>Verse 3 <i>Mwandi umfwila ine Balabekofye iwe Balaimwena abene, balaimwena Eya amalavingi, eya amalavingi</i></p>	<p><i>Ukumpoka iwe kwena bakafwilapo Ichitemwiko chesu chafuma apatali elyo kabili, tukachitwala apatali Lyonse chikalayaka ngechibili Wemutemwikwa nomba tubashimye ababi Bengi bakumbwa efyo twangala Balipapa ifwe chalibabwino Bena chalibipa balifulwa Kanshi bafwaya naifwe chikabipe</i></p> <p>Verse 3 <i>Mwandi umfwila ine Balabekofye iwe Balaimwena abene, balaimwena Eya ichitemwiko, eya ichitemwiko</i></p>	<p>Someone will have to die before they can get you from me Our love comes from very far and we will take it very far It will always burn like a big flame My love, let us shut them up There are a lot who envy how we play They are surprised because everything is fine between us Things are bad between them and they are annoyed So they also want things to be bad between us</p> <p>Verse 3 Just listen to me Forget about them They will see for themselves, they will see Love oh love</p>
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The translations of the song text of *Balekuzembeleka* show that words from the English language have been incorporated into IchiBemba usage. However, the adopted English words are not pronounced exactly in the same way as they are in English.

Ichikopabeluti

*Gayi
Bati
Telize
Pulani
So
Spaka jezi
Gelo
Bokosi
Lavu
Yalifauka
Amalavingi*

English

Guy
But
Tell
Plan
So
Sparkling jazz (expression used when one is feeling good)
Girl
Box (referring to buttocks)
Love
Foul
Loving

Appendix N

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Appendix N

Comparison of dishes presented at *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies

Table N.1 Comparison of dishes presented at *ichilangamulilo* ceremonies during the pre-colonial era and the post-independence era¹

Dishes presented at <i>ichilangamulilo</i> ceremonies during the pre-colonial era	Dishes presented at <i>ichilangamulilo</i> ceremonies during the post-independence era
<i>Ubwali</i> made from: <i>Amale</i> (Millet), <i>Amasaka</i> (Sorghum), <i>Nyanje</i> (Maize) or <i>Kalundwe</i> (Cassava)	<i>Ubwali</i> made from: <i>Amale</i> (Millet), <i>Nyanje</i> (Maize) or <i>Kalundwe</i> (Cassava)
<i>Inama</i> (Meat): <i>Inkoko</i> (chicken), <i>inama</i> (beef, goat and game),	<i>Inama</i> (Meat): <i>Inkoko</i> (chicken), <i>inama</i> (beef and game)
<i>Isabi</i> (Fish): <i>Pale</i> , <i>Kapenta</i> , <i>Kasepa</i> , <i>Imintesa</i>	<i>Isabi</i> (Fish): <i>Pale</i> , <i>Kapenta</i> , <i>Kasepa</i> , <i>Imintesa</i>
<i>Umusalu</i> (vegetables): <i>Chibwabwa</i> (Pumpkin leaves), <i>Kalembula</i> (Sweet potato leaves), <i>Katapa</i> (Cassava leaves), <i>Chimpapila</i> (Beans leaves) <i>Bondwe</i> , <i>Impwa</i> (Garden eggs), <i>Lubanga</i> (Wild spinach), <i>Kacheshya</i> , <i>Umulembwe</i>	<i>Umusalu</i> (vegetables): <i>Chibwabwa</i> (Pumpkin leaves), <i>Kalembula</i> (Sweet potato leaves), <i>Katapa</i> (Cassava leaves), <i>Chimpapila</i> (Beans leaves) <i>Bondwe</i> , <i>Impwa</i> (Garden eggs), <i>Lubanga</i> (Wild spinach), <i>Kacheshya</i> , <i>Umulembwe</i>
<i>Ubowa</i> (Mushrooms): <i>Tente</i> , <i>Ichikolowa</i> , <i>Chitondo</i> , <i>Kabansa</i> , <i>Busefwe</i> , <i>Pampa</i>	<i>Ubowa</i> (Mushrooms): <i>Ichikolowa</i> , <i>Chitondo</i> , <i>Kabansa</i> , <i>Busefwe</i>
<i>Imbutu</i> (Grains): <i>Impuupu</i> (Pumkin seeds), <i>Chilemba</i> (Beans), <i>Imbalala</i> (Groundnuts), <i>Ilanda</i> (Cowpeas), <i>Intoyo</i> (Ground beans)	<i>Imbutu</i> (Grains): <i>Impuupu</i> (Pumkin seeds), <i>Chilemba</i> (Beans), <i>Imbalala</i> (Groundnuts), <i>Ilanda</i> (Cowpeas), <i>Intoyo</i> (Ground beans) <i>Intongwe</i> (European peas), <i>umupunga</i> (Rice)
<i>Ifyumbu</i> (root tubers): <i>Kandolo</i> (Sweet potatoes), <i>Chikanda</i> (Wild orchid), <i>Tute</i> or <i>Kalundwe</i> (Cassava), <i>Mumbu</i> (Livingstone potato)	<i>Ifyumbu</i> (root tubers): <i>Kandolo</i> (Sweet potatoes), <i>Chikanda</i> (Wild orchid), <i>Tute</i> or <i>Kalundwe</i> (Cassava), <i>Mumbu</i> (Livingstone potato), <i>ifyumbu</i> Irish potatoes
Insects: <i>Ifishimu</i> (Caterpillars), <i>Makanta</i> (Locust), <i>Nyense</i> (Cricket), <i>Nkate</i> (Flying ant)	Insects: <i>Ifishimu</i> (Caterpillars)
<i>Mungu</i> (Edible gourd), <i>Ifipushi</i> (Pumpkins), <i>Ichibimbi</i> (Cucumber), <i>Amankolobwe</i> (Small Cucumber)	<i>Mungu</i> (Edible gourd), <i>Ifipushi</i> (Pumpkins), <i>Ichibimbi</i> (Cucumber), <i>Amankolobwe</i> (Small Cucumber)
<i>Ubwalwa</i> (Beer): <i>Chipumu</i> , <i>Katubi</i> , <i>Kataata</i>	<i>Ubwalwa</i> (Beer): Mosi Lager, <i>Chibuku</i>
Soft drinks: <i>Munkoyo</i> (non-alcoholic Bemba traditional drink made from a wild root tuber)	Soft drinks: Coca cola, Fanta, Sprite and <i>Munkoyo</i>

¹ Table compiled from information found in Labricque 1931, Richards 1939, Kambole 1980, Mukolongo 1996, Ilunga 2002, Fulanshi 2003, Kapwepwe 2003, Lumbwe 2004 and Mutale 2006.

Appendix O

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Appendix O

Symbolic meaning of *Chipumu* and *Katubi* beer at *ubwinga* ceremonies

In the pre-colonial times traditional beer, *chipumu* and *katubi*, was served to the invited guests in *insupa* (calabashes), which were placed at the centre of the performance arena. The guests would take turns to drink from the same *insupa* using *umutete* (straw). Drinking beer with *umutete* from the same *insupa* is commonly referred to as *ukutubila*. In this setting each guest would rise from his seat and go into the centre of the arena where the beer is placed. Before taking a sip, the guest would lead the gathering into singing as he performs the *mfunkutu* dance. At the end of each song the leader would make a few remarks to the *nabwinga* (bride) and the *shibwinga* (bridegroom) either by interpreting the meaning of the song or highlighting what is to be expected in marriage.

The meaning of *ukutubila* is symbolic of Bemba sharing and communalism, which is enshrined in expressions such as ‘*Twende babili temwenso*’ (Walking in a group does not entail being fearful, but demonstrates togetherness), ‘*Uwaitwa, tafwala bwino*’ (He who is called does not take time to dress properly), ‘*Umuchinshi wanseba, kwimina pamo*’ (The flock of birds is respected for doing things together and at the same time), ‘*Umunwe umo tausala nda*’ (One finger cannot pick a louse). Other lessons drawn from *ukutubila* include etiquette and decorum.

According to Bemba customs, beer was intended to liven up a social gathering and not for people to get drunk. That is why during *ukutubila* comments such as ‘*Ubwalwa ni nsokolola twebo*’ (Beer aids in revealing hidden expressions) are passed as drinking continues. Such expressions serve as reminders to the people gathered that they should not drink beer beyond their alcohol tolerance levels. The introduction of bottled beer to the urban and rural communities of Zambia has rendered the Bemba custom of sharing and communalism redundant. Instead of drinking from the same calabash where people are gathered, the guests are served individually in glass bottles. At weddings the practice of drinking beer from individual containers does not permit for *ukutubila* and the activities that go with it. According to Chitwansombo (2006), the Bemba believe that bottled beer encourages drunkenness because people drink as much they can. In the case of *ukutubila* the chances of someone getting drunk are slim, because many people share the beer served in one container.

Appendix P

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Appendix P

Summary of relations of wedding committees

The central committee is the main wedding committee that coordinates all the functions of the sub-committees. The number of sub-committees varies from wedding to wedding. The average number of sub-committees is usually six as shown in figure P.1.

Figure P.1 Summary of relations of wedding committees



The song *Kalombo mwane* is not a marriage *mfunkutu* song, but adoption from the Bemba *buomba* genre commonly performed in the Catholic church Hinfelaar 2004:234-235). The other two songs *Nse nse* and *twaisa ee* are marriage *mfunkutu* songs

Appendix Q

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Appendix Q

Wedding committees operation

Table Q.1 Wedding committees' operations¹

Number of wedding committees	Duration of preparations for the white wedding and format of times for meetings
15 committees	0 – 12 months <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting once a month for the first six months. • Meeting twice a month for the next two months. • Meeting once a week in the next three months. • Meeting twice a week for the first two weeks of the twelfth month, and daily in the last two weeks.
8 committees	0 – 6 months <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting once in the first month. • Meeting twice in the next two months. • Meeting twice a week in the next two months. • Meeting twice a week for the first two weeks of the twelfth month, and daily in the last two weeks.
2 committees	Less than 6 months (The two committees differed in duration and format of meetings) 0 – 5 months (for one group) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting twice in the first month. • Meeting once a week in the next two months. • Meeting twice a week in the next two months. • Meeting daily in the last month. 0 – 4 months (for the second group) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting once a week in the first month. • Meeting twice a week in the next two months. • Meeting daily in the next two months.

¹ Information contained in this table was drawn from the 25 wedding committees that the researcher attended and observed during fieldwork as well as information from research participants during interviews. The information provided in the table was worked out based on the average responses and therefore it should be born in mind that there are variations in the way wedding committees operate. The intention here is to provide a rough guide as to what happens during preparations for white wedding ceremonies take place.

Appendix R

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Appendix R

Ukwingisha ceremonies

Ukwingisha (lit. to put something into receptacle, but is the highest level on honour in Bemba marriage)

This ceremony is not performed for every married man, but only for those who prove themselves to be caring, loving and hardworking husbands and fathers. To be accorded this prestigious ceremony, one has to display the set and accepted mode of behaviour within his home, clan and the entire community. After *ukwingisha*, one acquires a higher social status, respect and is often consulted on matters related to marriage and other community issues. On the very day of *ukwingisha*, *Lumbwe*¹ acquires a higher social status and respect than his peers, and is often consulted on important matters. Food and traditional beer is served to *Lumbwe* and his party by his in-laws at their home.

Before *Lumbwe* sets out for *ukwingisha*, he has to wash his hands in warm water that has *amashikulo* (small gift of money) to prepare himself. Upon arrival at the in-laws' home, *Lumbwe*'s party forms a single file led by an elder selected to perform the ritual of *ukushikiula*, which requires a gift of money and collects *ubulungu ubwa buuta* (white beads), which is placed at the entrance of the house. This action is a gesture of welcome by the in-laws. As this is done a song is sung for them.

Table R.1 Song text of *Mwaingilamo*

<i>Mwaingilamo</i>	You have entered
<i>Mung'anda yachipungu lisheni amapi.</i>	In the house of your in-laws clap your hands.
<i>Mwaingilamo</i>	You have entered
<i>Mung'anda yachipungu lisheni amapi.</i>	In the house of your in-laws clap your hands.

This song indicates to *Lumbwe* that after *ukwingisha* ceremony he was free to interact with his in-laws and participate in their family gatherings and ceremonies.

Amatebeto, a food offering ceremony (similar to *ichilangamulilo* already described in chapter 4), at which *katubi* (traditional beer) is served, follows the proceedings. As the beer is being served the following song is sung:

¹ Title used in marriage to refer to husband. The term was derived from the idea of a consort of a queen.

Table R.2 Song text *Sonwe* (Come and drink)

<i>Sonwe!</i>	Come and drink!
<i>Niwe walele nsala bukwe bwandi.</i>	You are the one who slept hungry my in-law.
<i>Sonwe!</i>	Come and drink!
<i>Niwe walele nsala bukwe bwandi.</i>	You are the one who slept hungry my in-law.

Through the song *Sonwe* *Lumbwe* is invited to have a drink and take food with his in-laws.

On the conclusion of *amatebeto*, *Lumbwe* and his party leave to consume the food at a specially selected home or his own home if he lives in the same locality as his in-laws. Later on *Lumbwe*'s party returns to his in-laws' home. This time both parties are served with traditional beer as they wait for *ukwingisha* to begin. As people are having a drink, a selected aunt of *Lumbwe*'s wife will start the following song, and as this song is sung, she will be blowing through *Lumbwe*'s ears:

Table R.3 Song text of *Komo komo* (Unblock, unblock)

<i>Komo, komo</i>	Unblock, unblock
<i>Komona umwana amatwi.</i>	Unblock the child's ears.
<i>Komo, komo</i>	Unblock, unblock
<i>Komona umwana amatwi.</i>	Unblock the child's ears.

In this song *Lumbwe* is being advised to prepare himself to pay much attention to what will be said through the songs.

Both parties will then sing and dance, led by anyone who feels like making a contribution.

Table R.4 Song text of *Mayo njelela* (Mother forgive me)

<i>Mayo njelela.</i>	Mother forgive me.
<i>Njelela ee wakalomo katali.</i>	Forgive me you with a long lip.
<i>Mayo njelela.</i>	Mother forgive me.
<i>Njelela ee wakalomo katali.</i>	Forgive me you with a long lip.

Through the song *Mayo njelela*, *Lumbwe* is asked to pardon his in-laws for any wrong they may have done him, because now he is considered to be their own son.

Table R.5 Song text of *Itumba lilelila* (*Itumba* drum is sounding)

<i>Itumba lilelila,</i>	The drum is sounding,
<i>kanshi kumako balenjeba fimbi.</i>	As my in-laws are telling me something else.
<i>Bantutile ngoma.</i>	Play the drum for me.
<i>Shichasulwa nabanyina fyala.</i>	The one who is not respected by his in-laws.

In this song the son-in-law tells his in-laws that he is aware that they just pretend to respect him, but in reality they do not.

Table R.6 Song text of *Uyu tata aba nemitumfya* (this young man likes teasing)

<i>Uyu tata aba nemitumfya,</i> <i>Yakutumpika chintu eshibe.</i> <i>Nomba ninkula.</i> <i>Tuipante, tuinyante.</i> <i>Bambi bese mukulamununa.</i>	This young man likes teasing foolishly on things he knows. I have now grown up. Let's kick ourselves, let's step on ourselves. Others must come and separate us.
---	--

The mother-in-law is asking her son-in-law to feel free to discuss any issue with her because his social status is now higher than his peers.

Table R.7 Song text of *Wemuko ee!* (My in-law)

<i>Wemuko ee!</i> <i>Ukanguma wemuko ee ukapuma.</i> <i>Pantu ulekaka inkanshi pampumi ukampuma.</i>	My in-law! You will beat me, you in-law, you will beat me. Because you frown and have wrinkles on your forehead, you will beat me.
--	---

In this song *Lumbwe* is being reminded, by his in-laws, to be more pleasant and welcoming to visitors and family members from his own, and his wife's kin.

After a good number of songs and dances have been performed, *Lumbwe* is taken around the in-laws' house searching for all the different items that have been hidden in various places. The search for the hidden items is known as '*konkola*'², which is the most significant part and marks the climax of *ukwingisha*, because these items are placed in all the rooms of the house and also outside it. *Konkola* is done in order to give *Lumbwe* the opportunity to enter all the rooms in his in-laws' house. From this day on he may interact with his in-laws just as their own children do. During the procession of *konkola* the following song is sung:

² The word *konkola* comes from the action of scraping, with the index finger, the last bit of food that sticks at the bottom of the pot. In this context it means to pick up the items that have been hidden in various places.

Table R.8 Song text of *Nshimba konkola* (*Nshimba pick*)

<i>Nshimba konkola,</i>	<i>Nshimba pick,</i>
<i>konkola.</i>	<i>pick.</i>
<i>Konkola noomu,</i>	<i>Pick from underneath,</i>
<i>konkola.</i>	<i>pick.</i>
<i>Konkola naapa,</i>	<i>Pick from here,</i>
<i>konkola.</i>	<i>pick.</i>
<i>Konkola namulya,</i>	<i>Pick from there,</i>
<i>konkola.</i>	<i>pick.</i>

The song is sung to guide *Lumbwe* in his search for the hidden items. It should be noted that the whole procession takes part in the singing and performance of the actions of *konkola*, which are done according to the rhythm of the song.

When all the items have been collected, the in-laws give *Lumbwe* small gifts of money, known as *ukufuta*, for certain items to left behind, otherwise the rest of them are taken away. Thereafter, *Lumbwe* 's party leaves for their respective homes.

Appendix S

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Appendix S

Classification of *Mfunkutu* music

The following classification of *mfunkutu* music was prepared by Mwesa Mapoma (1980), who based his classification on specific socio-cultural contexts. Even though Mapoma compiled the table, he simultaneously abandoned the idea of a classification system, because he saw its limitations in terms of specific contexts. Some songs are used in more than one context. The classification presented here is a word-for-word excerpt of *mfunkutu* songs of the Bemba people of Luapula and the Northern Provinces (Mapoma 1980:340-349). According to Mapoma, the music from these regions is predominantly harmonised in thirds.

***Mfunkutu* (MF) Class I:** Songs in this class consist of a short melody built on two notes which are a minor second apart and last the duration of four claps – generally called the Time Span, or TS. The regulating pulse unit – a clap – is in triple division. These songs can be sung in one breath, thus suggesting that they may be sung by a single person and still convey a complete musical and textual thought. This is not entirely the case in the other classes of *mfunkutu* songs. Their structure involves a leader and a chorus, with the leader's part carrying more than two and a half claps. According to the present data, the chorus part has a standard rhythmic pattern.

Figure S.1 Example MF Class I



MF Class II: Songs in this class consist of two equally balanced sections sung by the leader and chorus. A song with one TS has two claps to the solo and two to the chorus. If it has two TSs, one will be sung by the leader and the other by the chorus. Melodies are built on two tones as in Class I, or up to four. The range therefore varies from songs based only on a minor second interval, or minor third, to a perfect fourth. Melodies ranging beyond a third have a descending profile. Cadentially, the solo part ends on an ascending cadence, followed by a chorus part which could end on either an ascending or a descending cadence.

Figure S.2 Example MF Class II



MF Class III: Songs in this class are characterised by (a) a four TS structure, that is, sixteen claps; (b) a scale which uses two tetrachords; and (c) a tonal transposition of the first section. Each song is divided into two sections, A and B. Section A is divided equally into two sub-sections, each occupying one TS. Section B, a tonal transposition of A, is divided into two unequal sub-sections. The first sub-sections sung by the soloist covers one and a half claps, while the sub-section sung by the chorus covers two and a half. The entire song, A (A¹+A¹) and B (B¹+B¹), is repeated, except that now texts are used in the chorus A and B. Each section is built on two tetrachords, with the final tone of the half cadence in Section A becoming the beginning of the next tetrachord. Numbering the tetrachord tones from the highest as T+1, 2, 3 and 4, melodies tend to start on T-2, or 3, rise to T-1, then gravitate down scalewise to T-4 before coming to a half cadence on T-3. This melodic movement is repeated in Section B, transported a tone lower.

Figure S.3 Example MF Class III



MF Class IV: Like MF Class III, songs in MF Class IV take up four TSs and employ two tetrachords, but with the following differences. Whereas Section A is equally divided, in B the solo occupies two and a half claps and the chorus one and a half. The solo cadences in Section A are descending, while the chorus sings a monotone; those in B are descending in both sub-sections. There is a possibility that a rising cadence might occur should a word with a rising tone occur at the end of cadence. Textually, there is no repeat of a sub-section A, the first phrase in the solo part of A; the complete meaning is obtained when solo and chorus of each section are. The range of these songs is a perfect fifth.

Figure S.4 Example MF Class IV



MF Class V: Songs in this class have four TSs, use overlapping tetrachords, and have two sections – A and B – of which B is a downward tonal transposition of A. The difference between classes IV and V lies in the equal division of claps in both sections of Class V. The range is a perfect fifth.

Figure S.5 Example MF Class V

Handwritten musical notation for MF Class V, Example S.5. The notation is in 6/8 time and features a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of two staves, A and B, each with a 'S' (Solo) and 'Ch' (Chorus) bracket. The lyrics for section A are 'Bu-lu-nda bwa ku ba lu-nshi, Ka-mo na ka-lo lo nda'. The lyrics for section B are 'Ku mfwa ka-lo-nda ka-po-la, Bu-lu-nda bwa sa-la-nga na.'

MF Class VI: These songs take up four TSs, but use only one tetrachord. Like the other songs, they are divided into two sections, A and B, which are grouped into solo and chorus. The solo parts in each section are sung to one and a third claps, while the chorus occupies the other two and two thirds. Each section is repeated once before the other is introduced. Musically, both A and B are the same, but their texts differ. The cadences are descending, both for the solo and the chorus, at half and final points.

Figure S.6 Example MF Class VI

Handwritten musical notation for MF Class VI, Example S.6. The notation is in 6/8 time and features a key signature of one flat (Bb). It consists of two staves, A and B, each with a 'S' (Solo) and 'Ch' (Chorus) bracket. The lyrics for section A are 'A-ka-bu-la ka nda-le, Na ka-mu-ba-nga e tu-li-tu bi-li'. The lyrics for section B are 'Tu-lyo to-ba-nje-ba, No-be ba ka-kwe-ba we mbu-la ma-no.'

MF Class VII: These songs have four TSs and use a seven-note scale. Divided into A and B, each line is repeated, with B being repeated as many times as the soloist wishes. The chorus part of both A and B are the same but sung to different texts. Cadentially, the solo part of A ends with a rising cadence while the chorus response ends with a descending cadence. In section B the cadences for both the solo and chorus parts are descending. The range of the entire songs is a minor seventh.

Each section has two TSs. In A the solo has two claps as against 6 of the chorus, while in B the solo has three claps to five of the chorus. The main difference between songs in Class VI and Class VII is that in the former the melody of both A and B is the same, but their texts differ. In Class VII the solo melodies of sections A and B are different, while the chorus parts have, in most cases, the same music with appropriate rhythmic variations required by the verbal text. The range of the songs is a minor seventh, while in Class VI it is a perfect fifth.

Figure S.7 Example MF Class VII



MF Class VIII: This class is represented by the “*Ndolesha we mukashi wandi.*” It has three sections (A, B, C) and covers five TSs. Sections A and B each have two spans equally distributed between solo and chorus, while the final time span is divided equally between the solo and the Chorus in section C. Two tetrachords are used: one for A and B, and the other for C. Sections A and B cannot be repeated without bringing in Section C, the extension. C can be repeated over and over as long as the soloist sings a rising cadence. However, should the soloist sing a falling cadence in C, the song will have to be started from the beginning of section A, and not from C. In short, a rising cadence by the soloist at the end of Section C implies a choral repeat of only Section C; a falling cadence by the soloist in C calls for the repeat of the entire song.

Figure S.8 Example MF Class VIII

clap. **S** **ch**
Ndo-le-sha we mu-ka-shi wa-ndi, Te- we nso - nke-la

S **ch**
Nga wa- mpa me- nso ya mu-fu- ba, E- lyo - nse- nda me.

S **ch** **S** **ch**
Ndo- le- sha, Na - fwa na bo - la. Ndo- le- sha, Na - fwa na bo la.

MF Class IX: This class of songs also has three sections (A, B and C), except that Section A is repeated before B, which is also repeated, is introduced. To these repeats is added the extension, Section C, which uses all or part of the text from Section A. The entire song is repeated over and over again by introducing a rising cadence at the end of the solo part of C, and shifting the pitch level a fourth above to the starting tone of Section A. The range covers a major sixth.

Figure S.9 Example MF Class IX

clap. **S** **ch**
Nji- li - le, Ma - yo a - li - fwa Nji- li - le Ma - yo a - li fwa.

S **ch**
Na- sha- la Nji- ku - mbe te ka lu lu, Ma - yo a li fwa.

S **ch**
Nji- li - le, Ma - yo a - li fwa.

MF Class X: In this class, the solo in part A may cover than two TSs and uses a cue to introduce the chorus in Section B. After a repeat, the cue becomes a new solo part, while the chorus continues the same response. This extension is repeated in the same way as that found in classes VIII and IX. The song ends when the soloist introduces a falling cadence at the end of section C. If he sings a rising cadence, the chorus responds by singing only Section C, as was the case in Class VIII.

Figure S.10 Example “Umo nashamino buko” MF Class X

It will be evident from the foregoing that three types of repeats are used in *mfunkutu* songs. The first is a repetition of the whole song (AB) common to most African songs, necessitated by the overall interest in the song by the performers. The other two are built into the formal structure of the song. In the first of these, there is a structure of the song. In the first of these, there is a repetition of one or both of the main section, A and /or B. In the second, there is a repetition of portions of a song, or its extension.

In summary, *mfunkutu* songs fall into ten classes based on formal musical structure. They range from simple melodies constructed on two tones a minor third apart to those using the seven tones of a heptatonic scale. Most of them, however, use two tetrachords, mostly **la-so-fa-mi** and **so-fa-mi-re**, which are immediately discernible after one or two notes at the beginning of each section. They are organised chiefly into two sections, A and B, which are shared between leader and chorus. An extension is appended to some songs after Section B and repeated *ad lib*. The tempo is between 90 and 100 MM ().

Appendix T

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Appendix T

The Zambian coat of arms

Plate T.1 Zambian coat of arms



The coat of arms of Zambia was adopted when the country gained its independence on 24 October 1964. It was adopted from the arms of the Northern Rhodesian colony, which dates to 1927. The shield was the main feature that was adopted from the colonial coat of arms. The main features of the Zambian coat of arms include: the eagle which forms the crest above the crossed pickaxe and hoe, the black and white striped shield, a man and a woman, the motto, a Zebra, a mine shaft and the maize cob.

The eagle of liberty represents the conquest of the colonial power and the achievement of freedom and the nation's ability to rise above its future problems. The pickaxe and hoe above the shield represent the labours of the people of Zambia in agriculture and mining. The shield is a representation of the Victoria Falls with white water cascading over black rock. Black also symbolises the Zambian people and the country's link to the Zambezi River, from which it derived its name. The shield is supported by a man and a woman who symbolise the Zambian family and the 'man centred society'.¹ The maize cob, the mine shaft and the Zebra imposed on the national colour (green) symbolise the country's abundant natural resources (agricultural, minerals, game and the land). The scroll contains the national motto – 'One Zambia, One Nation', which emphasises the need for peace and unity among all the ethnic groups of Zambia.

¹ Man centred society does not mean male dominated society, instead it refers to the importance attached to the well being of all human beings.

Appendix U

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Appendix U

Order of video clips on the DVD¹

Kitchen party

Chapter 1	Blank space
Chapter 2	Title: Opening prayer
Chapter 3	Title: Opening prayer
Chapter 4	Opening prayer
Chapter 5	Title: Entry procession; <i>nabwinga</i> accompanied by <i>bana chimbusa</i> and organising committee members
Chapter 6	Entry procession; <i>nabwinga</i> accompanied by <i>bana chimbusa</i> and organising committee members
Chapter 7	Continuation of entry procession
Chapter 8	Title: Unveiling of <i>nabwinga</i> ; by <i>shibwinga</i> 's representative
Chapter 9	Unveiling of <i>nabwinga</i> ; by <i>shibwinga</i> 's representative
Chapter 10	Continuation of the unveiling ceremony
Chapter 11	Title: Presentation of token of appreciation by <i>nabwinga</i> to <i>shibwinga</i> 's representative
Chapter 12	Presentation of token of appreciation by <i>nabwinga</i> to <i>shibwinga</i> 's representative
Chapter 13	Continuation of presentation of token of appreciation
Chapter 14	Title: The feast; for all in attendance
Chapter 15	The feast; for all in attendance
Chapter 16	Continuation of the feast
Chapter 17	Title: Presentation of gifts to <i>nabwinga</i> from her friends
Chapter 18	Presentation of gifts to <i>nabwinga</i> from her friends
Chapter 19	Continuation of presentation of gifts to <i>nabwinga</i> from her friends
Chapter 20	Title: General dancing; free for all in attendance
Chapter 21	General dancing; free for all in attendance
Chapter 22	Continuation of general dancing
Chapter 23	Title: Presentation of token of appreciation; by <i>nabwinga</i> to her mother in-law and her mother
Chapter 24	Presentation of token of appreciation; by <i>nabwinga</i> to her mother in-law and her mother

¹ The DVD includes menus, therefore, the viewer has an option of either starting by selecting the 'play movie' and advance or skip scenes, or the 'scene selector' and advance to any preferred scene. Furthermore, the recording can be accessed on any DVD equipment or computer that has DVD player software.

- Chapter 25 Title: Conclusion of ceremonies; final music piece performed by Northmead Assemblies Band
- Chapter 26 Conclusion of ceremonies; final music piece performed by Northmead Assemblies Band

Wedding reception

- Chapter 27 Title: Wedding Reception; entry procession by first part of the bridal party
- Chapter 28 Entry procession by the first group of the bridal party
- Chapter 29 Entry by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*
- Chapter 30 Title: Opening prayer
- Chapter 31 Opening prayer
- Chapter 32 Title: Entry procession by the second group of the bridal party
- Chapter 33 Entry procession by the second group of the bridal party
- Chapter 34 Title: The feast; for all in attendance
- Chapter 35 The feast; for all in attendance
- Chapter 36 Continuation of the feast
- Chapter 37 Continuation of the feast
- Chapter 38 Title: Cutting of the cake; a) presentation of the knife, and b) cutting of the cake by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*
- Chapter 39 Cutting of the cake; a) presentation of the knife, and b) cutting of the cake by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*
- Chapter 40 Continuation of the cutting of the cake
- Chapter 41 Serving of the cake by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga* to their parents
- Chapter 42 Title: Opening of the dance floor by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*
- Chapter 43 Opening of the dance floor by *nabwinga* and *shibwinga*
- Chapter 44 Continuation of the opening of the dance floor; by *nabwing* and *shibwinga*, and the bridal party
- Chapter 45 Title: General dancing; free for all in attendance
- Chapter 46 General dancing; free for all in attendance
- Chapter 47 Continuation of general dancing; free for all in attendance
- Chapter 48 Continuation of general dancing; free for all in attendance
- Chapter 49 Title: Conclusion of ceremonies; bridal party exit procession
- Chapter 50 Conclusion of ceremonies; bridal party exit procession
- Chapter 51 Continuation of conclusion of ceremonies; bridal party exit procession
- Chapters 52 to 56
The end; recording credits